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ANTERBURY CATHEDRAL
CHRONICLE

1977

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THE FRIENDS OF CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL

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FRIENDS OF CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL

JUBILEE YEAR 1977

On February 16th the following Address was despatched to the Queen's Private Secretary at Buckingham Palace:

A LOYAL ADDRESS TO THE QUEEN

In the fiftieth anniversary year since their foundation as a charitable society devoted to the care of the Cathedral and working in close association with the Dean and Chapter, the Friends of Canterbury Cathedral present their humble duty to Your Majesty and loyal congratulations on the occasion of the Silver Jubilee of Your Reign.

In this year of Jubilee the Friends are appropriately conscious of the challenging and continuing task of preserving and beautifying the fabric of our glorious Cathedral; a purpose they have inherited from their Founders of half a century ago and which they intend to pursue with energy in the years to come.

Her Majesty was graciously pleased to make reply to the Dean, as Chairman of the Friends, in these terms:

I warmly thank you, the Chapter, and the Friends of Canterbury Cathedral for your kind and loyal message of greetings on my Silver Jubilee, sent on the occasion of the 50th Anniversary of the foundation of the Society. I am most grateful for this message and send my congratulations and best wishes to you all.

ELIZABETH R.



THE CANTERBURY CHRONICLE

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EDITORIAL

The issue of the *Friends Chronicle* each Spring provides an opportunity for looking back at the principal events of the preceding twelve months as well as a commemoration of the things that matter in the year of issue. So our cover reminds us that last year a new Dean, Victor Alexander de Waal, was installed on September 25th and that our Queen Elizabeth II paid us a memorable visit on December 10th. As a preparation for her Silver Jubilee year 1977 this was a perfect and unforgettable occasion and put us all in the right mood for celebration not only of her Jubilee but also of ours, for 1977 sees the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Friends by Dr. G. K. A. Bell as well as marking the nine-hundredth anniversary of the completion of the great Norman cathedral of Archbishop Lanfranc. Articles which look back over the last half century of the Friends' existence are contributed by two of the oldest Friends, Canon Derek Ingram Hill and Dr. Martin Browne, while articles about the Norman cathedral and the priory buildings, much of which are still extant, come from the pens of members of the Council all resident in Canterbury, Messrs. John Hayes, Colin Dudley and Francis Woodman. Looking back to the earliest days of all—the coming of Augustine and his monks—the Revd. Christopher Kelly (who is on the staff of St. Martin and St. Paul in Canterbury) contributes a special feature on the banner or ikon which Bede tells us was borne in the celebrated procession which the monks made into Canterbury at the outset of that historic mission.

We also print two attractive poems sent in by visitors to Canterbury which seem worth including in such a periodical as ours made up as it is, year by year, of the contributions of people who express in divers ways their love for the Cathedral, and the religion of Jesus Christ which in material form it so wonderfully embodies.

THE DEAN'S ADDRESS TO HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN, DECEMBER 10th, 1976

Your Majesty,

As we meet to-day we are conscious of the countless men, women and children, among them many of your Majesty's royal predecessors, who have worshipped our Lord here for more than two-thirds of the Christian era.

The building of this Cathedral church by Europe's greatest craftsmen expressed a vision of the world in which each person could contribute his personal gift to the whole, and the whole society worked to the good of each one.

Evangelism and education, the enlargement of human culture in music and the arts, the struggles for political and social justice have been nourished here; and the role of Canterbury's saints continues into our own times. Ever since, nearly 1,400 years ago, a Christian Queen received St. Augustine here, Canterbury has stood at the crossroads of the world. Millions of pilgrims still come to Canterbury. They are as varied as in Chaucer's day, and like his pilgrims they come with mixed motives. But deep in all is a search for meaning in life, for truth and beauty and goodness.

We have the great responsibility to respond to that need—by the welcome we give, by being a community that continues faithfully the tradition of worship and service, and by preserving the beauty of this great church that speaks much more clearly than words of the glory of God and the hopes and possibilities of man.

Your Majesty's visit as First Friend of the Cathedral, encourages us in this purpose. I speak for our craftsmen and musicians and all who minister here; for those who continue to give so generously to support us, and for all this great company assembled in welcoming Your Majesty to our celebration this day.

There has been a shifting of emphasis in several administrative directions during the past twelve months, and Chronicle readers may care briefly to consider how great and unremitting are the calls—in time, money, preservation effort—necessarily made these days upon all who love and serve Canterbury Cathedral whose walls have in part now stood for 900 years.

Be it priest, Friend, Dean and Chapter employee; all are affected by the yearly increase in the number of people who enter the building; visitors to whom the cathedral speaks, and needs to continue speaking—through its beauty and treasure, its stone, and the evidence of unchanging faith expressed therein in a thousand ways.

As in every recent year

there have been in 1976/77 no fewer than three Services every day, with extra choral Services on Sundays, Church Festivals and on other special celebratory occasions;

the Cathedral has been open seven days a week to roughly three million visitors from 7 a.m. to 7 p.m. (save in the mid-winter months, when it closes about an hour earlier), and frequently until the later hours of 9 p.m. or 10 p.m. for public concerts in the Nave or Chapter House;

the Dean and his Chapter of only four residentiary Canons have discharged corporately or individually—and in addition to their spiritual and pastoral duties—a whole series of heavy and all-embracing administrative responsibilities which demand their personal attendance at not less than what must be an average of one important meeting a day.

Executive assistance is, of course, provided

by the Chapter Office and its advisers and employees; among whom are professional architects and surveyors, accountants, stained-glass experts and restorers, stone masons, carpenters, electricians, gardeners, painters, plumbers, vergers, etc.;

by Cathedral Gifts Ltd., whose profits from the sale of goods in their Precincts shops are wholly devoted to Cathedral upkeep;

by the Friends of Canterbury Cathedral, who locally supply a very considerable body of voluntary labour for all sorts of duties;

by volunteer chaplains and guides who do so much to make pleasureable and memorable the hour or two pilgrims from all over the world spend in seeing Canterbury Cathedral; some on what might be only a once-in-a-lifetime visit.

Particularly during the past year

major cleaning works involving the use of floor-to-ceiling scaffolding (which will also allow for close examination of the fabric and for such repairs as prove to be necessary) commenced in the autumn of 1976 in the Trinity Chapel area and moved on to the Presbytery and Quire itself shortly after Christmas. These works will mean denial of virtually the whole of this part of the Cathedral to visitors until July next at the earliest.

many events listed in the following calendar (some normal, some exceptional) had their special flavour both of poignancy and excitement occasioned by the retirement of one Dean and the installation of another. Space in this review permits only bare expression of what is nonetheless the warmest of welcomes to Victor de Waal as Dean and Chairman of the Friends, as it does also of description of the Queen and First Friend's visit on December 10th. The happy atmosphere of that day is caught in our cover photograph (courtesy of the *Kentish Gazette*) of Her Majesty and the Dean walking together to luncheon in the King's School dining room. It was a day of unbroken, beaming smiles of pleasure wherever one looked in the Cathedral and Precincts for the four to five hours the Queen was able to spend with us.

- May 10th saw the retirement of Ian White-Thomson as Dean of Canterbury. The title of Dean Emeritus was conferred upon him by the Archbishop. The White-Thomsons moved on June 20th to their not-so-faraway house at Wye in Kent.
- June 3rd was the Friends' Spring Evening, based on a wine and buffet supper party in the Chapter House. There was a display of the Masons' art in the Great Cloister, and parties of Friends visited both St. Gabriel's Chapel and the Black Prince's Chantry in the Crypt to hear Canon Hill on both subjects. The Niblett Handbell Ringers gave a recital in the Trinity Chapel.
- June 25th six hundred pupils at schools with corporate membership of the Friends attended Youth Day in the Cathedral and Precincts. Six schools performed their own interpretations of incidents in the life of the Black Prince in celebration of the 600th Anniversary of his funeral in the Cathedral.
- July 17th was Friends' Day, with a Sung Eucharist in the Quire followed by luncheon in a marquee on the Green Court. The Annual Meeting at 2 p.m. in the Eastern Crypt was followed by Festal Evensong in the Quire, then Tea for 600 Friends who were entertained by a visiting Folk Group's dancing in the Green Court.

- July 23rd marked the opening of an Exhibition of paintings in the Chapter House by John Doyle and Graham Clarke in aid of the Appeal. Over a six-week period approximately £1,000 was raised for donation to the Appeal.
- Sept. 25th was the date of the special Service of Installation of Victor de Waal as Dean of Canterbury. The Deanery rooms are now no less filled than in White-Thomson days, for the de Waals also have four children; all boys of school age.
- Oct. 18th the Friends' Autumn Evening; to similar pattern as the Spring and again very successful, with visits to the Nave to hear Canon Robinson on Nave Memorials and to the Library, where Miss Oakley spoke of and showed many treasures.
- Dec. 10th the special visit of Her Majesty the Queen to give thanks for the success of the Appeal to date and to meet Appeal organisers and helpers, as well as many Cathedral workers.

The guided tour arrangements have, during the past year, been completely reorganised. A charge of 20p per head is now made to travel agencies and tour operators who wish to bring group parties to the Cathedral. Exceptions to this charge apply to several particular categories of pilgrims.

The special Appeal Office in Canterbury recently closed as a separate entity, passing some of its outstanding functions to the Chapter Office and Cathedral Gifts, but those of maintaining and increasing the flow of future voluntary contributions towards fabric preservation to the Friends of the Cathedral.

In concluding this Review, we regretfully record the loss through death of one of the Friends' Vice-Presidents, Sir Harry Batterbee, at Chatham on August 25th last; and of Dame Sybil Thorndike, who for many years has borne the title of Friends' Representative of Drama. David Kingsley Daniels has felt that the time has come for him to resign as an active member of the Friends' Council, and the Council also suffered "shock" in February at news of the sudden death in Hampshire of Lt.-General Sir Richard Craddock, who had served the Friends so well during more than ten years as a Council member.

Both the subscription and donation incomes of the Friends rose in the financial year ended 30th September, 1976, and led to a surplus for that year of income over expenditure of £8,268 compared with a £5,180 surplus for the previous year. Within the same financial year gifts were made in the Friends' name of £978 to the Appeal Fund and £7,600 to the Dean and Chapter (£4,500 of the latter for restoration of the St. Gabriel's Chapel mural paintings, and £3,000 of it towards restoration of the Friends' Jubilee Cloister Bay). There was an additional £100 gift to the Dean

and Chapter for a new Register of Gifts and the sculptor's model of the Archbishop Davidson tomb (this model had been the gift of Mr. Cecil Thomas only weeks before his death last year). Since September last, the Friends' Council has committed itself to a further £20,000 gift for a projected pilgrimage centre in the Precincts. Friends' share-holdings to a nominal value some £4,000 short of the £20,000 are shortly to be specifically earmarked for this purpose. The annual income from these shares, which amounts to around £800, will augment the nominal value figure until such time as the shares are disposed of for the building purpose stated.

Finally, please remember our need of many more Friends and of your and their regular generous giving. Accept our thanks for all you have already done, and in this, our Golden Jubilee Year, rejoice in that indefinable satisfaction and privilege of being numbered among the Friends of Canterbury Cathedral.

LORD CLARK OF SALTWOOD UPON THE OPENING OF THE CANTERBURY EXHIBITION, JULY 24th, 1975

Surely there is no one with a trace of feeling for architecture and history whose heart does not lift up when he comes to Canterbury Cathedral. What makes it different from any other Cathedral is first of all its variety. It is full of riches, full of surprises, none more surprising to a Continental visitor than a sequence of stained glass second only to that of Chartres Cathedral. It is also a record of history, and no record of history has ever been more beautiful. One never comes to the end of it. Now, as you all know, it is in danger of coming to its own end. People tend to ascribe this to chemical pollution. There may be a fragment of truth in this, but it cannot be the whole truth, because the same kind of collapse is threatening almost every mediaeval church in England. The fact is that stone and glass have a life, just as we have. It may be 500 years instead of 75, but it is a life. Just over a century ago (long before the age of pollution) the lives of our gothic churches were in jeopardy, and they were prolonged by the restoration practiced upon them by the architects of the Gothic Revival. It used to be the fashion to revile the restorers, and I myself have written a sarcastic chapter about Gilbert Scott. Perhaps he sometimes went too far, but what a debt we owe to him and to his colleagues like Street and Pearson! They propped up our churches and cathedrals when the cost was perhaps a hundredth of what it would be to-day, and when there was a body of craftsmen who had so good a grasp of the gothic style that very few of us know when we are looking at an original or a restoration.

I live near Hythe, and I have always admired the beautiful early English choir of Hythe church. The other day I read a letter from William Morris saying that it had just been completed by Street. Well, that saved our churches for over a century, but the time has come when they are in peril again. At least once a week, often twice, I receive an appeal to help save a building that I love—Tewkesbury, Beverly Minster, etc. What can we do? York Minster was saved by a vast corporate effort of the people of Yorkshire. But we have no Leeds and Sheffield in Kent. And in any case Canterbury belongs to the whole of England, not only on account of its beauty, but because it was the first Christian foundation in this country to endure and expand.

We have become so used to thinking of Canterbury as the centre of Christianity in England that we tend to forget how far she had sunk soon after the Norman Conquest. The Cathedral burnt down, the town chaotic. It might well have been that the primacy of the English Church could have moved to York, or even to Winchester. That it did not do so was due to the character of two great Archbishops, Lanfranc and Anselm. It is an extraordinary light on the internationalism of the early middle ages that the saviours of Canterbury (for they were no less) were both Italian, and that Lanfranc became Archbishop at the age of 70. He rebuilt the Cathedral. Less than 20 years later his successor, Anselm, found the choir too small, pulled it down and built one of the present proportions. What a strange commentary on the present day! We seem very rich. We read in the newspapers about gigantic sums of money passing from one country to another. But we cannot afford to prop up our cathedrals, let alone add to them. Think of the size and splendour of the nave. It was built in times of plague and religious strife. The country seemed to be ruined. Everything in history is a question of character and personality. As we walk towards the Cathedral we should try to imagine what Lanfranc saw there, when he first, most reluctantly, visited his see. Or what Archbishop Courtenay saw when he looked down the steps to the nave. These great, determined men were inspired to create something to the glory of God. We are asked only to save it; and how difficult that is.

CANTERBURY TOWER

Silence

the evening quiet descends
the streets are still.

Canterbury Tower

with fleshly stone and colour tone
dominates the darkening sky.

Pilgrim focal point

standard lifted up on earth
calling every earthly man to heavenly birth,
ageless testimony touched by every age.

No Silence now

beneath you pilgrim feet unceasing move
and leave with memory of your hallowed walls,
dead perhaps in life to all for which you stand.

Yet in the dark of night

they may reflect in depth and height
upon your lighted tower,
and He who gave you birth
may in kindly love give new birth to them.

Then like you His kiss will make them soar

embraced in majesty and awe
of Him whose praise you raise
day and night through endless days,
your joyful business in our world of time.

JAMES A. CARR.

TIME—THE ENEMY

(Written after a visit to Canterbury Cathedral)

Dreaming she lies, our old Cathedral city,
'Midst ancient walls which guard from foes so fierce;
We see the sacred shrine of Thomas Becket,
That martyr whom the treacherous swords did pierce.

Later, the guardian walls could not hold off
That fearsome foe who rained fire from the sky,
But Hitler's squadrons, with their powerful might,
Still vanquished not the towers that rise on high.

But time, the enemy, eats away the stone,
And crumbling masonry there flakes and falls,
Oh, God, arouse the people of this nation
To give their aid to save these splendid walls.

H. JOAN CHAPLIN.

LANFRANC'S CATHEDRAL AT CANTERBURY

When Lanfranc Abbot of Caen arrived at Canterbury for his consecration as Archbishop in the year 1070 he found his Cathedral a burnt out shell. Three years earlier the Anglo Saxon Cathedral, the church of St. Augustine, St. Theodore and St. Dunstan, had been gutted by fire and temporarily abandoned. Lanfranc decided upon a total rebuilding, a decision he probably would have made regardless of the condition of the church.

A zealous reforming Italian, Lanfranc had come to Canterbury at the request of William the Conqueror to re-shape the English Church into a Norman mould. Building projects were to form a vital part of Lanfranc's monastic reforms, and at Canterbury he set out to build a model Norman monastery and to do it quickly. According to Eadmer, an eleventh century chronicler, Lanfranc rendered the new church almost perfect in a space of only seven years. This statement should only be interpreted as indicating that the monastic choir was usable, and that the church still awaited the completion of the nave, western towers, and the upper parts of the central tower, the Angel Steeple. Lanfranc's church forms the nucleus of the present Cathedral, and considerable parts of it survive. From these, and the illustration of the nave and transept in the Waterworks Drawing of c. 1160 (Trinity College, Cambridge, MS. R.17.1)* it is possible to build up a fairly complete picture of its original appearance.

The Norman Conquest brought about a radical change in religious building in England. With the exception of the Confessor's Westminster, the Anglo Saxons had an additive approach to architecture, and were strongly influenced by Imperial traditions and reforms. The Normans, however, were influenced by the Cluniac movement with its formal monastic ritual, and highly developed, if rather rigid, monastic planning.

The choir of Lanfranc's church was far too small for the requirements of a cathedral, having only two bays east of the central tower. The plan of the east end, partly known from nineteenth century excavations, consisted of three apses, a large central apse flanked by two smaller ones that may have been squared externally. The choir only contained the ritual altar area and the Archbishop's Throne. The transept projected one bay either side of the aisles and had an apsidal chapel projecting from its north-east and south-east walls. The crossing was covered with a low lantern tower. The nave had exactly the same plan as at present, eight bays with an additional bay between the twin western towers. The total length of the church was some 280 feet, and the nave and choir were 72 feet wide internally.

From this general outline it is probable that Lanfranc's Cathedral at Canterbury was modelled on his Abbaye aux Hommes at Caen, in building from the 1060's. The nave and transept of this church, now known as St. Etienne, have survived substantially intact, and offer a valuable illustration of the likely internal

* See also page 27 of this Chronicle.

appearance of the eleventh century Cathedral at Canterbury. The original east end of St. Etienne was demolished prior to the building of the existing Gothic choir, but excavation has shown that it was similar to Canterbury with three apses, the smaller side apses being squared externally. However, the choir of St. Etienne was not raised over a crypt, which was evidently included as part of the design at Canterbury in deference to a tradition which probably went back to the archiepiscopacy of St. Theodore, 668-90.

The crypt at Canterbury lay only under the main choir area, and did not extend under the choir aisles. This can be determined from the north-west corner of the present north crypt entrance. Lanfranc's great south-east angle pier in the Martyrdom has on its reverse side a shaft and base which are bonded into and thus formed part of Lanfranc's structure. This base fixes the floor level of the western bay of Lanfranc's north choir aisle as being the same as that in the transept. Beyond this base, there is not sufficient space within the known length of the north choir aisle to contain the stairs to gain the necessary height for a crypt to extend under any part of it. The aisles therefore remained at transept floor level and probably contained side entrances down into the central area crypt. This is exactly the form of the crypt at La Trinitie at Caen, which was built by the Conqueror's wife Matilda from 1063.

The crypt at Canterbury was divided into three aisles by two rows of columns or piers supporting the vaults. The outline of Lanfranc's vaults and western wall piers can still be seen embedded in the western crypt wall, together with the springing of the north and south interior walls. The raising of the choir floor level above the crypt would indicate that the choir was contained within solid walls with doorways and steps down to the lower side aisles. Above the solid walls were probably tribune openings with the clerestory window higher still. The tribune, a common feature in romanesque churches, was a gallery above the main aisle which often repeated the size and form of that aisle. It had structural as well as ritual significance, though the latter is somewhat lost on us today. The apse of the choir probably had two rows of windows lighting the interior, like the rebuilt apse at La Trinitie.

The matutinal altar at Canterbury stood under the central tower on a low platform with steps up from the nave and transept, and from there, up to the higher choir level. The monastic stalls lay entirely within the two eastern bays of the nave, a common monastic layout that can still be seen at Westminster and Norwich.

The height of the crossing arches at Canterbury has been somewhat confused by the nineteenth century discovery of a romanesque capital inside the north-west crossing pier facing into the Martyrdom. This was assumed to be part of the springing of the northern crossing arch, though it is too low for any sensible reconstruction of the church. However, there is no record of similar discoveries being made when openings were cut at the same point in the three other crossing piers. This one capital may be regarded as a misleading stray caught up in the complex stripping and recasing

of these piers during the late fourteenth century. Only the existing height for the crossing arch springing point makes any sense within the known history of the central tower.

The northern arm of the transept, the Martyrdom, remains virtually intact, having been remodelled and raised in the fifteenth century rather than being demolished and rebuilt. The exterior of the Martyrdom provides the best illustration of the severity of Lanfranc's Cathedral. The transept is austere, with almost blank walls and corner buttresses. A blind arcade appears to have existed under the clerestory windows which disappeared under the tribune roof as happened at Norwich. The remains of this arcade on the north-west transept face can be seen from the cloister. In the past this fragment has been taken as part of Lanfranc's clerestory range, but this must have had the same sill level as the present one, though only 13 feet high compared to the existing 25 feet.

The transept formed a major internal break in the church, with clear openings north and south of the crossing, unlike the present arrangement obscured by stairs and screens. Each transept arm had a double storied eastern apsidal chapel, that of St. Benedict and St. Blaise in the north, and St. Michael and All Saints to the south. West of the upper chapel floor levels and filling the entire projecting bay of each transept arm was a tribune bridge, which was a first floor supported by a central column below. These raised bridges must have connected with the tribunes over the nave and choir aisles, and the arrangement must have been similar to the surviving transept bridges at St. Etienne at Caen. The door to the north tribune bridge at Canterbury can still be seen blocked up inside the Martyrdom stair turret at a height of just under 29 feet from the transept floor level.

The transept apsidal chapels were evidently one aisle bay long plus apse, and a half shaft from St. Benedict's was recently exposed in the south wall of the present Lady Chapel. It was on the steps of St. Benedict's that St. Thomas was Martyred in 1170, and the arrangement of the central supporting column of the tribune bridge played an important role in the setting of that notorious event.

The ground floor area of the transept would have been quite dark, especially the northern arm where the Chapter House and slype obscured what little light filtered through the windows under the bridge vaults. Above the bridge floor level, the transept would have been comparatively light, with ranges of windows on three sides.

The nave interior was divided into three storeys; aisle, tribune and clerestory. The north aisle wall of Lanfranc's nave appears to survive up to its original height, approximately 49 feet, the top of which appears as a thick wall above the present north aisle vaults. A thinner fourteenth century wall extension stands on top of this, with a clear set back, and is consistent along the whole length of the north aisle vault space. This does not occur above the south aisle vault.

Internally, Lanfranc's aisles were just under 29 feet high from the nave to the tribune floor levels. This compares with 28 feet 4 inches at St. Etienne. In the north aisle at Canterbury the windows were small and set high enough to clear the roof of the adjoining south cloister walk. Above the aisle, the tribunes would have been comparatively well lit, with windows set into approximately 20 feet of the tribune section of the aisle walls. The double storey arrangement of the north aisle can clearly be seen in the Waterworks Drawing of c. 1160.

There is no surviving evidence to indicate the interal height of the tribune openings at Canterbury, and they may well have been identical to those at St. Etienne which are about 23 feet high. Similarly, there is no evidence as to whether the tribunes were vaulted, the half barrel tribune vaults at St. Etienne are constructionally of a later date than the nave at Canterbury.

The clerestory probably contained an interior wall passage, and may have had the rather standard design of three arches in each bay, a larger central arch framing the window. The clerestory at St. Etienne was substantially altered after 1100 when the present vaults were added. The overall height of the nave arcade walls at Canterbury was about 71 feet, compared to about 69 feet at Caen. The bays of the nave would have been divided vertically by half shafts attached to the piers and upper walls, but the wooden roof is unlikely to have reflected this articulation; being either exposed timber-work or panelled over and painted.

Lanfranc's nave would certainly appear dark and cumbersome when compared with the airy brilliance of its successor. However, the present nave owes a great deal to its romanesque predecessor, for the extreme height of the present aisles relates to the proportions of the previous height of the aisle plus tribune. The designer of the fourteenth century work simply removed the tribune floor level, and built his new aisle vaults on new piers at the top of the old tribune level. In taking over these earlier proportions, the Master Mason was not giving way to any sentiment for the old work, rather he had to fit his new work into the various levels and upper passages of Lanfranc's transept and western towers which were not to be rebuilt in the original nave campaign from 1376. Thus the older, and still existing work dictated a considerable amount of the design of the new work.

The western towers of Lanfranc's Cathedral marked a major departure from the Caen original. The Canterbury towers show a difference of style from those at Caen, and were not envisaged as a logical extension of the nave, but rather as a new, separate western section, though hardly a *westwerk* in an Imperial sense. The old north-west tower survived until 1833 when it was scandalously taken down against the advice of almost everyone. However, much of the east and south walls survive embedded into the walls of the nave and can be seen from above the north aisle vault. Similarly, considerable parts of the old south-west tower, "rebuilt" from 1424, can be seen above the south aisle vault. These towers were



St. Etienne, Caen

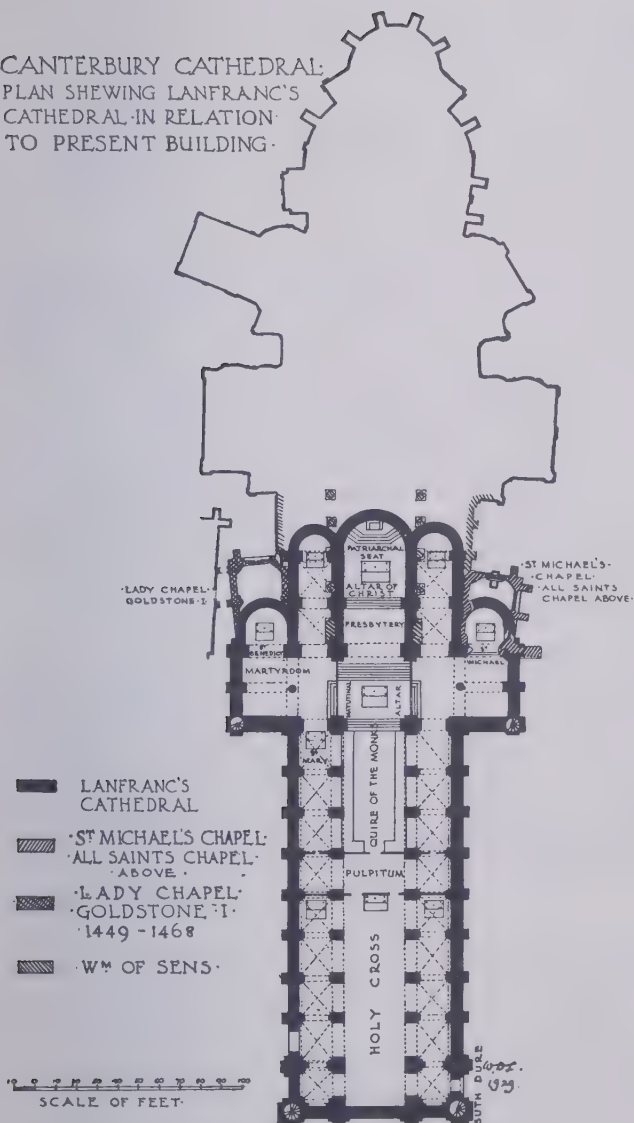


A model by Francis Woodman of Lanfranc's cathedral at Canterbury



The Conduit House today (see page 25)

CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL
 PLAN SHEWING LANFRANC'S
 CATHEDRAL IN RELATION
 TO PRESENT BUILDING.



stocky and robust, with thick clasping corner buttresses and were almost as high as the present towers, without their battlements and pinnacles. The upper walls were decorated with blind arcades and belfry openings, and like the central tower, they were topped with pyramidal spires covered with lead as shown in the Waterworks Drawing.

Apart from the curious depiction of the western gable between the towers in the twelfth century drawing, the design of the west front between the towers is not known. It probably contained two ranges of windows above a central western door, though the south door, or *Suthdure* as it was called in Saxon times, remained the principal entrance to the church.

In addition to the Cathedral, Lanfranc built a cloister, Chapter House, Dormitory, Refectory with kitchen offices, and a Cellerer's hall, of which only the Dormitory undercroft with its spiralled columns survives. This dates from about 1080. Despite the rebuilding of all the others, the position of Lanfranc's buildings was always retained, and they were to govern the development of the priory buildings for the rest of the middle ages.

In the Cathedral, Lanfranc's choir was demolished soon after it was built, to make way for St. Anselm's great choir from 1096. The rest of Lanfranc's church survived until 1376, when the nave rebuilding began. The southern transept arm was rebuilt between 1396-1426, the south-west tower between 1424-59, and the Martyrdom transformed between 1449-80. The central tower, the famous Angel Steeple, was replaced by the present tower from c. 1491.

However much rebuilding of Lanfranc's structure has occurred, the basic plan of the western section of the Cathedral has hardly altered since his time. In many places the smooth ashlar walling of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries conceals a far more ancient structure. In the eleventh century Black Book of the Archdeacon of Canterbury is an entry under the 4th October which reads: "*Dedicatio Ecclesie*". If this is added to the evidence from Eadmer, then the dedication of the present Cathedral Church at Canterbury first took place on October 4th, 1077.

FRANCIS WOODMAN.

PRIOR WIBERT'S WATERWORKS

If one feature of the monastic buildings of Christ Church Priory could be said to be a symbol of the work of the Friends of Canterbury Cathedral, it must surely be the Water Tower on the south side of the Infirmary Cloister. The Water Tower garden has been the setting for so many annual tea parties that it represents the social side of the Friends' work; it is also symbolic of the concern for the fabric of the Cathedral which is the main work of the Friends. It is, then, appropriate to recall, in the Friends' Jubilee Year, that the restoration of this lovely little tower was the first project undertaken by the Friends, at a cost of £1,700. The Water Tower was described by Archbishop Davidson as "that most beautiful and fascinating legacy of the twelfth century". The Water Tower garden was also improved and enlarged. Commenting on this project, the *Canterbury Cathedral Chronicle* of July, 1930, includes these words:

"It is difficult not to be enthusiastic about the Water Tower, and after all, why not? For to gaze on the revealed arches below, and to revel in the cool beauty of the upper storey brings a sense of pride in the Friends of Canterbury Cathedral who have made possible such a glorious work of reparation on the part of the architect and masons, and the stained glass expert of today."

But the Water Tower is more than an attractive architectural feature. It is part of a plumbing system which represents a masterpiece of medieval craftsmanship and engineering. This system may well be the first complete piped water supply system in the country—at a time when disease was rampant, personal cleanliness not highly regarded and efficient drainage a rarity. This was at a time, too, when Canterbury, although a city of streams, was always short of good spring water.

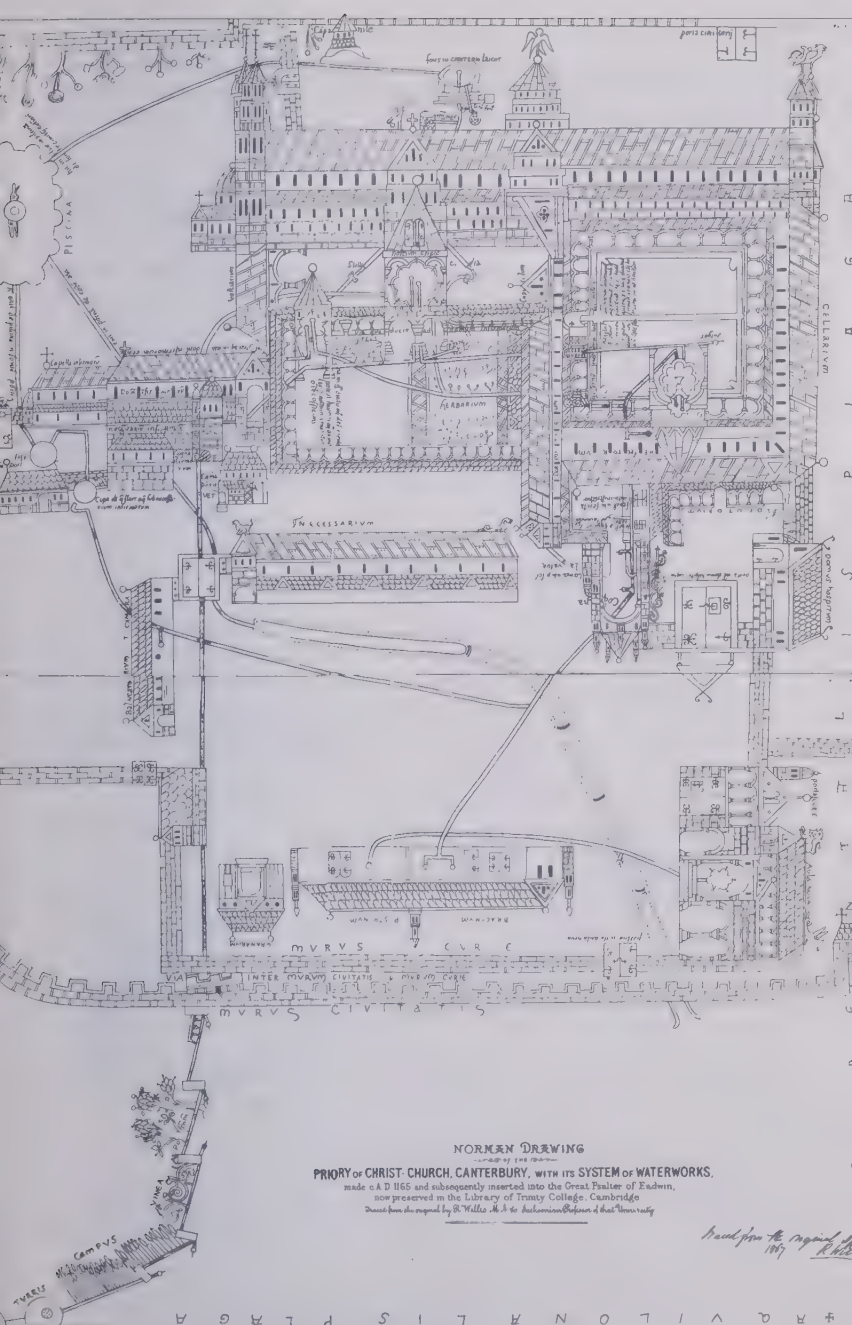
The Water Tower was the central feature of this system. The upper storey, which once contained a laver, or basin, was altered by Prior Thomas Chillenden (1390-1411). The great brazen laver, in which the monks made their ablutions when passing from the dormitory to the choir, survived until about 1548. The lower storey is Prior Wibert's (1151-1167) work. It was apparently open on all sides to the Infirmary Cloister garth except on the south where it was built against the Norman arch of the cloister.

Its vault is a unique and beautiful example of early rib-vaulting. The Water Tower was referred to as the Baptistry from 1787 until well into the nineteenth century, probably because for a time the font was housed there. The splendid Norman waterworks was built by Wibert in about 1160. Wibert, or Wybert, was "well known in all good worke" according to Gervase. He was not only one of the great building priors, but also a great administrator. He was prior when Theobald and Becket were archbishops, and the Water Tower must have been completed during the time when Becket was Primate. Wibert found the monastery in a state of bankruptcy and left it in a wealthy state ⁽¹⁾. He was also a great patron of the metal-workers. Apart from his great waterworks, which involved the use

of lead pipes, he donated a great bell—which required 32 men to ring it (standing on a plank)—and also candlesticks and possibly the angel or cherub on the top of the Angel Steeple of the Romanesque Cathedral which can be seen in the new seal which he introduced. His building works also included the Necessarium and the Infirmary Chapel, of which four aisles still remain, bearing upon the stone evidence of the fire of 1174. Near the Infirmary is the Treasury, or Vestiarium, which was also built during his priorate, which also saw the construction of the Pentise Gate, the Aula Nova, of which only the Norman Staircase and some arches remain, the Green Court Gate, and the Norman Gate to the Monks' Cemetery, now removed to form the entrance to the War Memorial Garden ⁽²⁾. Wibert was buried in the Chapter House.

It is, however, the monastic waterworks which is arguably his greatest work and which, until recently, has been sadly neglected. Practically all our knowledge of this elaborate water supply and disposal system is owed to Professor Robert Willis, who wrote in the middle of the nineteenth century ⁽³⁾. By chance, the original 'plan' of the waterworks, drawn in about 1160, was found inside a Psalter in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge. The drawings are in a large folio volume, measuring 18 inches by 13 inches, containing the psalter in Latin, Norman-French and Saxon, with several other writings. This is known as Eadwine's Psalter, after the monk who wrote it and whose portrait appears in the volume. It contains two drawings of the waterworks system. A coloured-up copy of the larger Norman drawing can be seen on the west wall of the Water Tower passage in the Cathedral. These priceless documents went from Canterbury to Cambridge with Dean Thomas Neville, Master of Trinity College, 1593-1615. In 1755 the Antiquarian Society published prints of the drawings, with an account of them. A facsimile reproduction of the Canterbury Psalter in a limited edition of 450 copies was produced by the Friends in 1935. The drawing of the waterworks system is probably the earliest example of a bird's-eye view in existence, since the perspective drawing in art does not appear until much later in history. The drawing is really not so much a plan as a record of the system already established, of which the Prior was justifiably proud.

The original grant of land for the supply of water is by Archbishop Theobald to the Prior and Chapter. It is of one acre at a place called Horsfelde (North Holme), "where springs burst forth and flowed down to a pond". This document is undated and is still preserved in the archives. Wibert drew his supply from land about a mile outside the city to the north-east, the source being in the Scotland Hills. The line of the aqueduct is shown on the drawings. In the larger and more detailed drawing (Fig. 1) it can be seen that, although we have a wonderful bird's-eye view of the conventual buildings in about 1160, its actual purpose is to show the supply system. In the original, which is in colour, there is a colour code to indicate the uses of the various pipes; green for the incoming supply, red for the distribution system, and yellow for rainwater collection and drainage. The plan also shows clearly the detail of the various stand-pipes, waste pipes and stopcocks. The artist is not



NORMAN DRAWING

PRIORY OF CHRIST CHURCH, CANTERBURY, WITH ITS SYSTEM OF WATERWORKS.
made c A D 1165 and subsequently inserted into the Great Palace of Eadwin,
now preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge.
Dressed from the original by R. Willis, M.A. the Bachmannian Professor of that University

Hand from the original of 1867 R. Willis

Fig. 1

too concerned about accurate measurements; the drawing shows the east end of the church elongated to allow for the enormous amount of detail of the system in that part of the monastery. Lanfranc's building can be seen on the west, with its twin western towers and the Angel Steeple, and Anselm's extension to the east. The layout of the monastic buildings is accurately recorded, and in particular the position of the Water Tower in the Infirmary Cloister, and also the Necessarium. This is fascinating in itself, but for the purpose of studying the course of the hydraulic system, the smaller Norman drawing, traced from Willis, is more useful (Fig. 2).

Gostling wrongly thought that this drawing was "the first rude sketch" of the larger one. Whereas the buildings are viewed from the north in the large drawing, they are viewed from the south in the small drawing. The key below helps us to follow the course from the source to the precincts wall and then its distribution throughout the conventual buildings. The letters have been inserted by Willis to make this clear.

- A The source
- B The conduit house
- C, D, E, F, G This settling tanks, in order, each provided with its purgatorium, or scouring-pipe, at the end
(The cornfields, vineyard and orchard are indicated exactly as in the large Norman drawing)
- H First Lavatory, erroneously termed the Baptistry (*i.e.*, the Water Tower)
- I Second Lavatory, in the Great Cloister
- K Third Lavatory, opposite to the door of the Infirmary (x)
- L Cistern, or fons, in the outer cemetery. The dotted parts in the engraving denote that the drawing is injured
- M The Prior's gates
- N The Prior's fons, or cistern
- O The Prior's water-tub (cupa)
- P The Lavatory under the North Hall
- Q The Brewhouse and Bakehouse
- R The Great Kitchen
- S The Bath House
- T The Stand-pipe, which pours the waste water of the branch it terminates into the Prior's water tub (o)
- V The Refectory
- W The Infirmary Kitchen
- X The Infirmary Hall

- Y A mildewed part of the drawing (the Necessarium would have been indicated at this spot)
- Z Also indistinct, but the thing represented is the broad sewer.

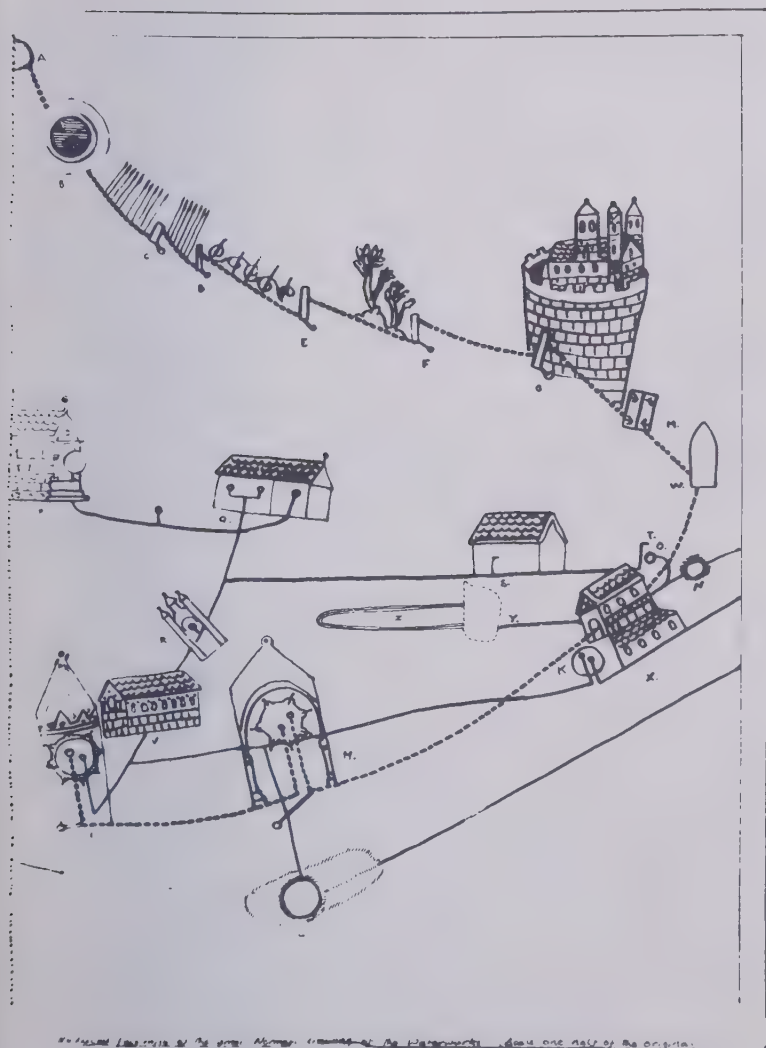


Fig. 2

The church shown behind the tank G indicates the Priory of St. Gregory. In the course of the various pipes, the continuous thick black lines are red in the original drawing and the intermitted black lines are green.

Taken together, the drawings give a remarkable picture of what may well be one of the earliest examples of a piped water supply still in existence. From the source the water runs to the circular conduit house and thence by a pipe, which is covered by a pierced plate. In its progress to the city wall the supply passes through five oblong reservoirs or settling-tanks, placed across the general course of the supply. These allowed sediment to settle on the way to the monastery. The water flows through fields (campus) of growing corn, thence through a vineyard (Vinea) and then through an orchard (pomerium). This orchard belonged to the Black Canons of St. Gregory's Priory. In the Cathedral archives (W225), there is an agreement complete with seal, "Letters patent by which the Prior Thomas and Convent of St. Gregorie's given leave for the Prior and Convent of Christ Church Canty to pass to and from the Court and Gate of their Priory of St. Gregory to repair their aqueduct passing through their orchard.". The canons of St. Gregory's Priory were allowed to use a branch from the Christ Church main supply, for which service they gave a basket of their best apples in September of each year to the monks of Christ Church.

The last settling tank is placed against the city wall. The aqueduct is then taken over a bridge across the city moat. It then ran underground to the Water Tower, which had a Laver which was a raised cistern from which water trickled into a washing basin below. Dr. Urry⁽⁴⁾ has used the rentals of the late twelfth century to follow the course of the water pipe nearest the monastery. Here he indicates the position of the two settling tanks nearest the Precincts wall and a third in the modern Military Road. A similar laver to the one placed in the Water Tower is described in the *Rites of Durham*, "... the laver of marble, having many little conduitts or spouts of brasse, with xiiij cockes of brasse, rownd about yt." Although there is no record of it, that at Christ Church must have been similar to the one at Durham.

From the Tower the water was distributed to the various parts of the monastery. One pipe took a supply to the laver in front of the refectory in the Great Cloister. Two pipes ran from the tank in the Water Tower, one to the north and the other to the east. The pipe to the north supplied the refectory, scullery and kitchen, by means of standpipes, clearly seen in the small drawing. This pipe also supplied the monastic buildings to the north; the bakehouse, the brewhouse and the guest-chamber, as well as the bathhouse, for, in spite of accepted myth, washing was encouraged, together with bathing and regular head-shaving and feet-washing. The eastern branch went to yet another laver in the Infirmary. This also gave off a branch which ran south, under the church to the lay people's cemetery, to supplement a quaint well, which can be seen in the larger drawing. This was probably the usual source of supply for the townsfolk, by courtesy of the monastery.

The waste from both main branches ran into the stone 'fish pond' which can be seen clearly in the larger drawing. From here a pipe ran to a tank beside the Prior's dwelling and then to the Prior's water-tub, collecting the waste from the bathhouse. Together with the rainwater collected from the roofs of the church and the gutters around the Great Cloister, it flowed into the main drain which ran through the reredorter or necessarium and thence under the Green Court and the city wall into the town ditch. This Great Drain ran from the south-west end of the Cathedral, along the south of the building, around the east end of the Necessarium. It then flushed through and from the west end it ran north to the town ditch. During the drought of last summer, the dry conditions showed up the line of the drain very clearly along the lawns. The Drain was so large that it was used as an escape route on at least one occasion; during the dispute between the monks of Christ Church and Archbishop Baldwin over his proposed new college of secular canons at Hackington. The Archbishop appointed a partisan of his own from among the monks, one Roger Norreys. At the height of the controversy this wretched man was forced to escape through the drain and the town ditch, "a method of escape well suited to such a scoundrel", commented Gervase.

The monastic drain came to be revealed in 1946, during the siting of an underground boiler..⁽⁵⁾ The length uncovered was near the ruins of the Necessarium on the south side of the Green Court. It consisted of a stone barrel drain, with walls of flint and stone and an arch of chalk and Kentish ragstone, with the bottom paved with stone. It is about three feet wide and three feet high. There are other points of access and there are stories of King's scholars hiding in the drain in more recent times! The drain still carries away most of the rainwater from the Cathedral.

Such a system must have involved much labour and ingenuity in its execution. There are other examples,⁽⁶⁾ and some idea of the dangers associated with the construction of such a system can be seen in one of the Miracle windows in the Cathedral (No. XII in the south side of the ambulatory). Here William of Gloucester, a workman, is buried under a weight of earth while laying water-pipes on the estate of Roger, Archbishop of York, at Churchdown, in Gloucestershire. William can be seen standing waist-deep in a hole, holding a leaden pipe, when the mound collapses on him. He is saved by the invocation of St. Thomas, who no doubt remembered with gratitude Wibert's waterworks! Some impressive distances were covered by these supply pipes; one mile at Canterbury, two at Bury St. Edmund's and more than three at Chester. Although in some places wooden pipes may have been used initially, plumbing must have been a skilled trade and Wibert was certainly aware of its possibilities. Hydraulic engineering, too, appears to have been in an advanced state, and Wibert seems to have been well informed. I understand that the Water Board have discovered some of the original pipes; there is a piece of the original pipe in the archives. Sheet lead water pipes were used in Roman times, and there are examples to be seen, for example, at Chester and Pompeii. These

cast sheet lead pipes were made by bending the sheet round a wooden mould; the joint then being beaten down and 'welt' by means of a hot iron to make them watertight.

The wells shown in the larger drawing in the Infirmary cloister and the outer cemetery are the original provisions made for water before Wibert's supply. They were apparently retained in reserve for the odd occasion when the new source happened to fail. It has been suggested that the font in St. Martin's Church may have been the top of one of the wells of Wibert's time made redundant when the new system was introduced. It seems clearly of Wibert's style and period, and it is of Caen stone.

Although certain alterations and improvements were made in the fifteenth century, Prior Wibert's waterworks remained basically as it was planned right up until today.⁽¹⁾ Chillenden's alterations changed the shape of the Tower and the new shape was responsible for it being referred to as the 'Bell Jesus' since its shape resembled that of one of the bells in the central tower. Chillenden also replaced the basin in the north cloister opposite the Refectory door by a long trough. After the Dissolution, however, a new source was given to the monastery by a charter of Henry VIII in 1546. This was because the old springs at Horsfelde, which lay within the King's park, had been fouled by the deer. The King granted to the Dean and Chapter the watercourse or aqueduct which previously had supplied the dissolved monastery of St. Augustine ("the saide late monastery called saynte Austene"). It is from this source that the precincts have been supplied with water until recently, and it is still available if it can be restored.

The system of supplying the precincts by a series of tanks or cisterns was changed, too, with the Dissolution, because most of the buildings which had lavers and standpipes were destroyed. The new inhabitants lived in separate dwelling-houses. The dispersal of the residents meant that the tank in the Water Tower was abandoned and another rebuilt in the Green Court. Gostling, at the end of the eighteenth century, tells us that this was "square and like a country pigeon-house". The water went into a great cistern, from which it ran to the various houses. The earliest record of this change in distribution is in Wilkes's plan, entitled, "A Description of ye vaults, pipes, Sestones, and gutters belonging to the Church as is hear in shewed. Drane out and ffinished by James Wilkes, waterman to ye Deane and Chapter of Christ's Church, Canterbury, October the 27th, anno 1668". This plan is very difficult to read and has never been published, but Batteley (1703) includes an engraving of T. Hill's plan of 1680. The conduit house, having proved to be something of a blot on the Precincts landscape, was transferred to a chamber in the ancient Brewhouse. There was also a cistern for the use of residents on the south side of the church. The capacity of the tank in the brewhouse was 15,000 gallons. The vast lead cistern was not removed until the end of the last war, to make way for classrooms for the King's School.

Unfortunately, Willis does not discuss the waterworks system outside the walls. Recently, I investigated what was left of this extramural aqueduct. I was saddened to see that those relics that remain to us have been seriously neglected and are likely to disappear within the next few years unless there is a more active concern for them. I followed the Norman drawing and located the conduit house at a short distance to the right of the Garrison Theatre at the top of Military Road. The source was higher up, probably in the region of the Reed Pond. Above the Theatre there is a reservoir which is now covered by a mound, as are the filter beds. This may have been done by the Army during the war. However, the conduit house is there for all to see, in a small field, almost covered by tall grass and other plant growth. Built of flint and brick, with some stone, it is in a sad state of repair, with gaping holes caused by vandals and a door badly wrenched. Inside, the tanks have been filled with masonry and other rubbish. There is Caen stone and Kentish ragstone and some of the stone is worked and is probably all that remains of the original structure. There was also a second conduit house to the north in the Old Park which has completely disappeared within living memory.

There are three sets of springs to the house which still work. There are two tanks inside the house which were rebuilt in the last century and enlarged in this. A two-and-a-half-inch lead pipe goes under the barracks with a branch to the Garrison Theatre, which used to be the stables. Thence the pipe follows the edge of the pavement down Military Road. At the old churchyard of St. Gregory's, now a playground, there is a manhole which shows the old and the new plumbing connections, although not, of course, the original pipe. From the churchyard it reaches the corner of Old Ruttington Lane, where there is another manhole. From here, the pipe runs down to Broad Street which it crosses and enters the Precincts, where there is another manhole next to No. 5 The Forrens, with a branch to No. 23 The Forrens. When the cover outside No. 5 is raised, examples of every plumbing style can be seen, from lead to plastic. The actual drop from the conduit house to the Cathedral is just over 32 feet in a distance of 3,200 feet to the Precincts. Assuming 2½ inch lead pipes this would have given a possible supply of 30-35 gallons a minute into the Water Tower tank, *i.e.*, 2,000 gallons an hour, which could probably have supplied the entire city in medieval times. As we have seen, the latest change was made just after the war, when the tank was removed from the brewhouse. The water then follows a pipe under the brewhouse to another manhole and thence to taps throughout the Precincts. A comparison of the Norman drawing with a modern plan of the Cathedral's water supply system shows how accurate the drawing is, for there are still six supply points which are still functioning, albeit intermittently. They are (1) outside the north door of the crypt, (2) in the Archdeacon of Canterbury's garden, (3) in the Deanery garden, (4) in the slype, (5) at No. 15 The Precincts and (6) in the Masons' Yard.

Until recently the water was used extensively throughout the Precincts. During the war, when the main supply was destroyed by enemy action, the people of Military Road drew their water from Precincts taps for a time. Many Friends will remember the pre-war fountain in the Precincts with the figure of a boy carrying a large fish. Out of the mouth of the fish poured Wibert's water, and it is to be hoped that this may once again be possible with a re-siting of the sculpture in the near future.

It will be very sad if this unique survival from the past is allowed to deteriorate out of existence. It is of great concern to a wider audience than Canterbury citizens alone that this should not happen. Evidence of vandalism is there for all to deplore. The Dean and Chapter were very concerned when this was reported to them and there is now a high wire fence around the conduit house, although this does not keep out the vandals. I have been in touch with the Department of the Environment and the house is now scheduled as an ancient monument, which should help to ensure its preservation.

What an exciting prospect it is to envisage that the water system itself may be restored with fountains playing in the Precincts by courtesy of Prior Wibert! This would involve rebuilding the conduit house, clearing out the settling tanks and restoring the pipes where the line is broken. I am assured by Water Board experts that this could be done fairly cheaply, unless a drastic break is found. Indeed, the entire supply could be restored to its original plan, with perhaps the only large expense being the repair of the conduit house. The need for this restoration has been recognised by the Dean and Chapter; included in the global sum of three and a half million pounds for the Appeal the figure for the fabric includes the modest sum of £6,000 for "Repairs to Monastic Water Supply".

JOHN HAYES.

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THE TRANSEPT TOWERS OF CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL

A Reappraisal

Many writers have appreciated the beauty of the two Romanesque towers that stand against the western walls of the east transepts, a beauty almost childlike in comparison with the powerful splendour of Wastall's great central tower. During the last hundred years both towers have received a good deal of attention in the form of restoration, but little thought has been given to their history or to the remarkable problem that they present with regard to the architectural history of the cathedral.

This problem lies in the location of the towers in relation to the rest of the building, and the fact is that they should just not be where they are today. For one thing, Romanesque towers are to be found in profusion throughout Europe, but nowhere else may such towers be found standing on the *nave* side of the transepts. When we study the documentary evidence concerning the towers we find that they did not stand in their present locations before the fire of 1174, although stylistically they give every indication of having been built before 1130. The documents concerned are the so-called Norman Drawing of the cathedral with its monastic buildings (Fig. 1), and the writings of the monk Gervase of Canterbury.

The drawing has been shown to have been made between the installation of the water supply system in 1163 and the building of the treasury in 1167. It has also been demonstrated that the drawing, insofar as the representational skills of the artist allowed, presents an extremely reliable and complete picture of the cathedral and priory, accurate in every material detail. The number of windows in the infirmary chapel and the number of arches around the cloister garth are correctly recorded, yet the portrayal of the north-east transept shows unmistakably that no tower stood in its

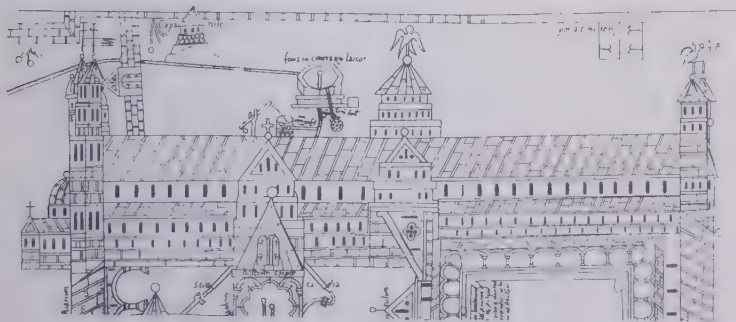


Fig. 1. Tracing of a detail of the Drawing of 1165 portraying the cathedral from the north. After R. Willis "*Archaeologia Cantiana*", Vol. VII.

vicinity at that time. On the other hand two towers (and possibly two round pinnacles), are shown to have stood further to the east where we find the chapels of St. Andrew and of St. Anselm standing today.

The existence of these towers of St. Andrew and of St. Anselm, and the non-existence of the east transept towers is fully corroborated by Gervase's description of the cathedral as it appeared before the fire of 1174. Gervase joined the community of monks at the cathedral in 1163 and became an historian of great distinction. It is even possible that he was the artist of the aforesaid drawing. His voluminous writings have been shown by modern historians to be extremely reliable and most carefully worded. In his description of the pre-1174 cathedral he records two towers standing at the east end, one supported by the chapel of St. Andrew and the other by the chapel of St. Anselm (formerly known as the chapel of SS. Peter and Paul). He even enumerates the windows between the various chapels but, significantly, he makes no mention of any towers in the vicinity of the eastern transepts.

"From this apse of St. Stephen, the aforesaid wall proceeding eastward had a window opposite the side of the great altar. Next after came a lofty tower as it were outside the said wall, which was called the tower of St. Andrew because of the altar of St. Andrew which was therein, below which in the crypt was the altar of the Innocents. From this tower the wall proceeding slightly curved and opening into a window reached the chapel which was extended towards the east at the front of the church and opposite the seat of the archbishop. But as there are many things to be said of the interior of this chapel, it will be better to pause before its entrance until the south wall with its appurtenances has been traced up to the same point. This south wall, beginning from the apse of St. Michael (H) in the cross of Lanfranc, reaches the upper cross after three windows. This cross at its eastern side, like the other, had two apses. In the southern apse was the altar of St. Gregory, where two archbishops were deposited; to the south St. Bregwin, to the north St. Plegmund, underneath in the crypt was the altar of St. Audoen, archbishop of Rouen. In the other apse was the altar of St. John the Evangelist where two archbishops reposed; to the right Ethelgar; to the left Elfric; underneath in the crypt was the altar of St. Paulinus, where Archbishop Siric was buried. Before the altar of St. Audoen and nearly in the middle of the floor was the altar of St. Katherine. The wall proceeding from the above cross had a window opposite the great altar, and next a lofty tower, in which was the altar of the Apostles Peter and Paul. But St. Anselm having been translated there and placed behind the altar gave his name to the altar and to the tower. From the tower the wall proceeding for a short space and opening into a window in its curve arrived at the aforesaid chapel of the Holy Trinity, which was placed at the front of the church."

Gervasii Monarchi Cantuariensis Opera Historica, trans. R. Willis. *The Architectural History of some English Cathedrals*, Part I, Minet 1972, pp. 45 and 46.

These 'lofty towers' of St. Andrew and of St. Anselm are depicted also on the seal of the Priory, taken from a document of 1130, which portrays the south aspect of the cathedral (Fig. 2). (Dating possibly from well before 1130 the seal does not attempt to depict the south-east transept, a circumstance which in view of the fine quality of the design, which, unlike later seals, would have been made in Canterbury, suggests that the eastern transepts may have been added to Ernulphs choir between the making of the seal and the making of the drawing.)



Fig. 2. *Portrayal of the south aspect of the cathedral before 1130. Drawn from a seal of the Priory on a document of 1130.*

The loftiness of St. Anselm's tower before the fire can be appreciated by the remaining evidence in the present fabric of the strengthening of its base in the early twelfth century. In the present St. Anselm's chapel the strengthening is to be seen in the half-buried capitals on either side of the west face of the sanctuary arch, which define the earlier dimensions of the arch before the much narrower arch we see today was inserted in a late Romanesque style (Fig. 3).

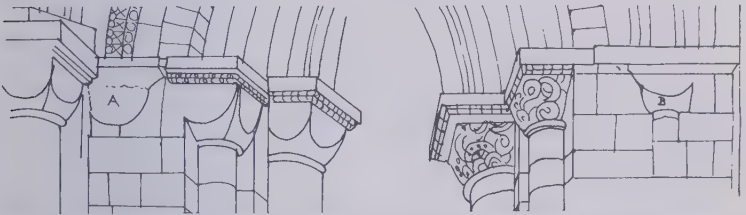


Fig. 3. *St. Anselm's chapel. Capitals of the chancel arch from the west, showing mid-12th century strengthening of c. 1100 arch (A and B) supporting St. Anselm's tower of that time.*

In St. Gabriel's chapel in the crypt below St. Anselm's the tower's foundations were strengthened by the blocking off of the sanctuary, an operation which served to preserve its rare frescoes and keep them hidden for six hundred years.

External evidence of the tower of St. Anselm may be found in the arch construction discoloured pink by the fire, on the upper eastern face of the chapel.

The problem of the proven non existence before 1174 of the present transept towers was noticed by writers such as Willis who appreciated the fact that stylistically they belong undoubtedly to the early years of the twelfth century when the crypt was built and the lower walls of the choir, which were begun in 1096. But Willis appears not to have considered the problem any further. The

suggestion the towers could have been built between 1163 and 1174 must be ruled out both on stylistic grounds and on Gervase's evidence, for he was describing the building as it stood *at the time of the fire* and if the present towers had existed then he would have mentioned them.

There remains only the possibility that they were constructed *after the fire* by William of Sens, or even William the Englishman, which is ridiculous—or is it?

An examination of the decorative carving of the upper halves of the two towers, particularly that of the south tower in 1821 before any restoration had been attempted (Fig. 4), reveals some remarkable inconsistencies and incompleteness in the patterns, a circumstance which in view of the fact that such carving at that time was performed *in situ*, appears, at first consideration, to be extremely puzzling.

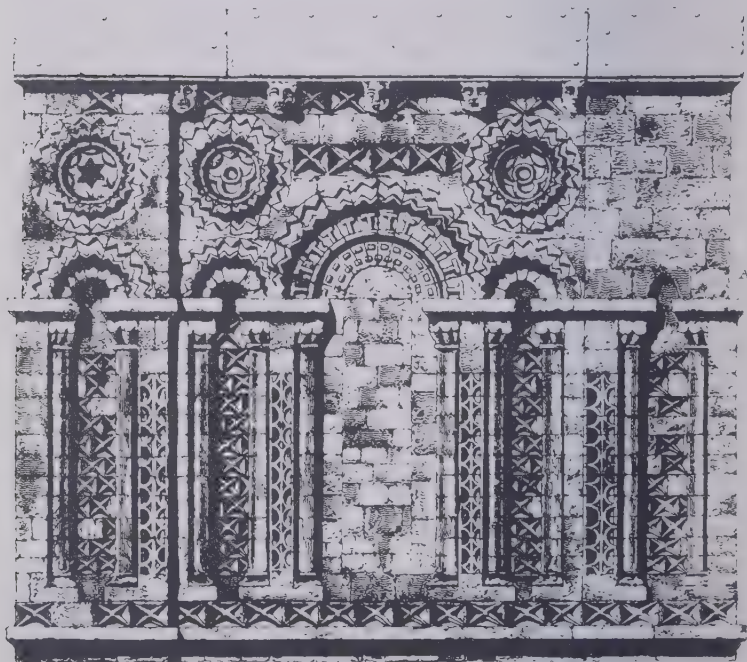


Fig. 4. The top storey of the South Transept Tower from the west. From an engraving published in 1821 (J. Britton, "*History of Canterbury Cathedral*", Longmans) Plate XXII. The engraving is reversed and point A represents the north-west corner of the tower.



Fig. 5. (top left) Interior of the North Tower from the north-east at 75 feet from ground, showing facing of fire-blackened rubble.

Fig. 6 (bottom left) The interior of the North Tower showing the transition from Ernulph's ashlar spiral stairs to William's square rubble room at 65 feet.

Fig. 7 (above) Detail of east wall of South Transept Tower, from within the transept roof, looking west.



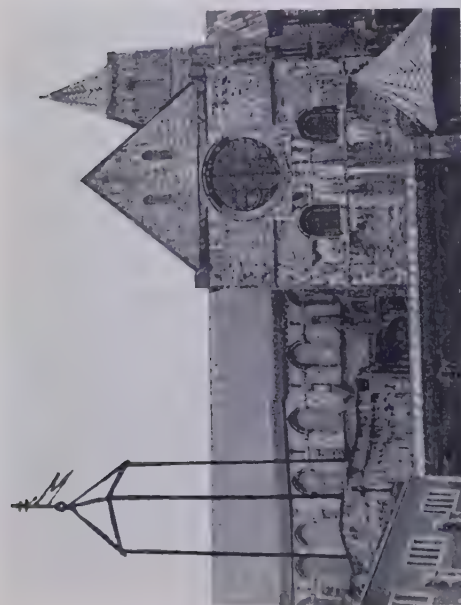


Fig. 8 (right) The North Transept Tower from the south-west, showing the levelling courses at the completion of each arch construction, and other evidence of rebuilding.

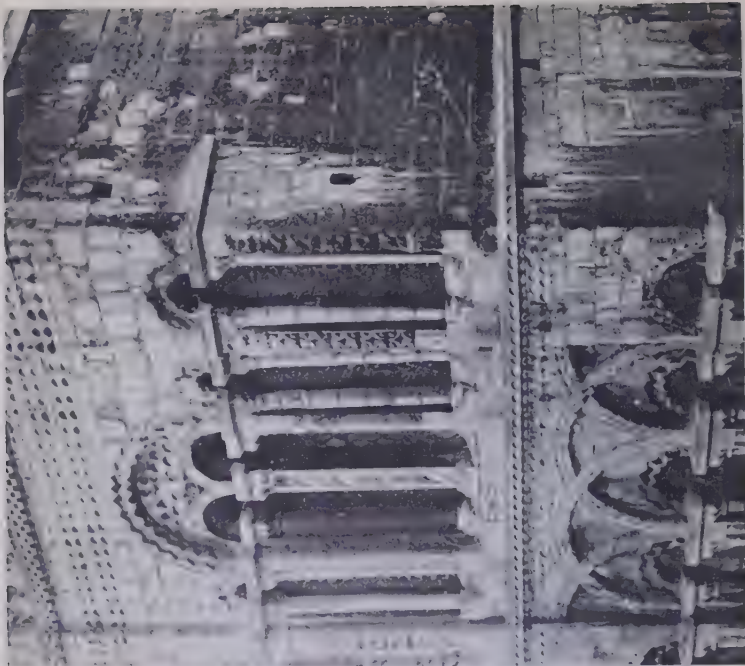


Fig. 9 (above) The north aspect of Canterbury Cathedral showing positions of the "lofty tower" of St. Andrew before and after the fire of 1174.

Another strange circumstance, which can be appreciated only by standing in close proximity to the towers looking upwards, when it will be observed that each tower is possessed of a distinct twist beginning at the level at which the plain masonry changes to the arcading. These twists bring the upper parts of the towers into orientation with the choir of William of Sens, with which the lower parts of the towers are not in alignment.

Could it be that the present towers are in fact reconstructions of the old towers of St. Andrew and of St. Anselm on new sites after the fire in which they were badly damaged and made unsafe? That this is in fact the case is indicated by Gervase in his account of the rebuilding of the choir by William of Sens:

“No autem futuris temporibus cuiquam veniat in dubium, qua de causa tanta chori latitudo quæ est juxta turrim tantum in capite ecclesiæ coarctetur, causas dicere non inutile duxi. Quarum una est, quod duæ turres, Sancti Anselmi videlicet et Sancti Andreae, in utroque latere ecclesiæ antiquitus ad circumum positæ, latitudinem chori in directum ad lineam non permiserunt procedere. Alia causa est quod capellam Sancti Thomæ in capite ecclesiæ constituere consiliosum fuit et utile, ubi fuerat capella Sanctæ Trinitatis, quæ multo strictior fuit quam chorus. Magister igitur turress prædictas dissipare non volens, integras autem transferre non valens, latitudinem illam chori usque ad confinium turrium in directum composuit. Deinde paulatim turres utrimque devitans, et tamen latitudinem viæ illius quæ extra chorum est quantum potuit propter processiones ibidem frequenter faciendas conservans, pedetentim obliquans opus constrinxit, ita ut ex opposito altaris opus decenter contraheret, et exinde ad tertium pilarium, ad formam latitudinis capellæ Sanctæ Trinitatis dicebatur, opus coartaret.”

Gervase of Canterbury, *Historical Works*, Vol. I, Kraus Reprint.

“And as in future ages it may be doubtful why the breadth which was given to the choir next the tower should be so much contracted at the head of the church, it may not be useless to explain the causes thereof. One reason is, that the two towers of St. Anselm and of St. Andrew, placed in the circuit on each side of the old church, would not allow the breadth of the choir to proceed in the direct line. Another reason is, that it was agreed upon and necessary that the chapel of St. Thomas should be erected at the head of the church, where the chapel of the Holy Trinity stood, and this was much narrower than the choir.

The master, therefore, not choosing to pull down the said towers, and being unable to move them entire, set out the breadth of the choir in a straight line, as far as the beginning of the towers (I . . . IX.) Then, receding slightly on either side from the towers, and preserving as much as he could the breadth of the passage outside the choir on account of the processions which were there frequently passing, he gradually and obliquely drew in his work, so that from opposite the altar (IX), it might be so narrowed as to coincide with the breadth of the chapel, which was named of the Holy Trinity’.”

Translation by R. Willis, *The Architectural History of Some English Cathedrals*, Part I, Minet Reprint 1972, pp. 60 and 61.

The reader will observe that Gervase, to describe William's method of solving the problem of the damaged towers, uses the word 'transferre', meaning 'moved' or 'transferred'. If the chronicler had intended to say that the towers had simply been destroyed by the architect, who was 'unwilling to lose them', he would have used the word 'destruere' as he did in reference to other parts of the building, whereas use of 'transferre' can mean only that the two towers were transferred to new sites, though not in their entirety.

spiral stairs of the lower section of the south tower remain and are in perfect condition, they are surmounted not by square rooms of rubble as in the north tower but by a new spiral stair constructed in the nineteenth century. This can mean only that the nineteenth century restorers found access to the upper parts of the tower so unsatisfactory that they were obliged to build a stairway, and this in turn can only mean that there was previously a marked change in the character of the construction between the lower plain and the upper decorated sections similar to that still obtaining in the north tower.

Fortunately the eastern faces of the towers, much of which stood within the roof spaces of the transepts, have never been restored, and here we may observe vivid evidence of the reconstruction of the towers from old material. One block of stone in particular, set in the east wall of the south tower and carved with a cross-like motif which is incontrovertibly of the early twelfth century, sits in solitary glory among the plain masonry; perhaps not the corner stone of the temple, but certainly, by providing such clear evidence of rebuilding, a key-stone in the jigsaw of history. (Fig. 7).

Although much stone was so shattered by the heat of the fire that it could be used only as rubble or as mortar aggregate, some stones were no more than discoloured by the flames and were otherwise quite sound. It is worthy of note that the only discoloured stone to be found on the outside of the towers is, however, to be seen on these eastern faces where it is hidden from sight and thus does not disfigure the appearance of the towers.

COLIN DUDLEY.

FIFTY YEARS OF THE FRIENDS AND THEIR FESTIVALS

Of all the good things that were initiated by Dr. G. K. A. Bell during five memorable years as Dean of Canterbury none have proved to be more influential or more lasting than the institution of the body known as the "Friends of Canterbury Cathedral"; for not only are the Friends going strong at Canterbury half a century later with great achievements to their credit but all over England similar bodies have come into being attached to cathedrals, greater churches and parish churches, with the same ideals as those of Canterbury. The first Friends' Festival, which has inspired so many others, was a modest affair on May 19th, 1928. By this time there were just over a thousand Friends on the roll and the sum of £1,000 was voted by the Council for the reparation of the Norman water tower (it is worth noting that at the Festival Service the Canticles were sung to Harwood in A flat, the setting chosen for the Queen's visit last December, and the anthem was Parry's ever popular *I was glad*). The Steward, Sir Anton Bertram (who had read the lesson at Evensong), announced his resignation at the first annual general meeting and the appointment of Miss Margaret Babington to succeed him was approved.

When the second annual Festival came round on June 1st, 1929, Miss Babington was well installed as Steward, Archbishop Cosmo Lang had succeeded Dr. Randall Davidson as Primate, and Dr. G. K. A. Bell was about to leave the Deanery for the Palace at Chichester with Dick Sheppard waiting to succeed him. The roll of Friends stood at nearly 1,900. Completion of the restoration of Prior Wibert's Water Tower was marked by the serving of tea to a vast number of Friends after Cathedral Evensong in the garden adjoining the Tower.

Twelve months later the Friends' Festival had become a regular feature of the summer programme of the Cathedral, and the issue of the *Chronicle* every four months, the *Report* once a year, and Canterbury papers regularly, were events keenly awaited by Friends all over the world numbering by midsummer 1930 nearly 3,000. The festival programme began to take shape with festivals of music at which artists like Clara Butt and Astra Desmond came to sing, and special services for Freemasons and other bodies attracted great crowds of people. This was the era of generous gifts like the statue of St. Thomas of Canterbury now in the western Crypt, and the heyday of restoration of wall paintings by Professor E. W. Tristram who was to superintend the recolouring of the great collection of heraldic shields in the Cloister over the next few years as well as the restoration of the murals in the chapels of St. Anselm and St. Gabriel.

A glance at the lavish festival programme for the years 1932 and 1933 is most revealing and acutely nostalgic. Over thirty pages with illustrations for sixpence. (What would this cost today?) The 1932 festival booklet announced the publication of a new book by Margaret Babington, *The Romance of Canterbury Cathedral*, and

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advertised a serenade and an orchestral concert by the B.B.C. Orchestra, both conducted by Adrian Boult, while the following year saw the inauguration of Youth Day which more than forty years later is still going strong. Lectures by distinguished men like Sir Walford Davies and John Masfield were a great draw at this time and exhibitions of treasures in the Cathedral Library an additional attraction.

By the year 1936 the four days or so of festival had become a full Octave, special plays written for Canterbury had replaced the annual performance of Tennyson's *Becket*, 20,000 copies of *The Romance of Canterbury Cathedral* had been sold, and Mr. Lawrence Irving was designing attractive posters yearly depicting characters from Chaucer's prologue to the *Canterbury Tales*. A choral eucharist was celebrated on Friends' Day in 1937 and Dr. Gerald Knight appeared as organist and master of the Cathedral music, much emphasis being laid on the fact that it was the year of the Coronation of King George VI.

The last pre-war festival in 1939 followed the pattern of its predecessors running for eight days; it centred around Dorothy Sayer's play *The Devil to Pay*. The week ended with an unforgettable party in the County Hotel for all the helpers at which Dorothy Sayers was the "lioness", and strawberries and cream were consumed in great quantities. The membership of the Friends stood at 5,200, and new members were being enrolled at the rate of about 400 a year. But each year there were many deaths and resignations and the venture of issuing a handsome Kalendar each year was suspended after the issue of the 1939 edition for lack of support.

Astonishing though it may seem today to all who remember vividly the events of 1940, despite the outbreak of war in the previous autumn a Festival was planned for the summer of 1940 on the same scale as former years with a play, concerts, lectures and a great service of Agriculture at which the Minister for Agriculture, the Lord Lieutenant, the Lord Mayor of London and others were to be present in state. By the end of June when all these gay doings were to take place the country was facing invasion after Dunkirk, and naturally and inevitably the Festival was cancelled.

During the next five years it must have seemed to many Friends very doubtful if the Cathedral itself would survive the war especially after the great raid of Trinity Sunday night 1942. But Miss Babington continued to combine energetic leadership of the Friends with many wartime activities and each year a report and a *Chronicle* went out to all Friends from the Precincts.

At last came the great year of victory and deliverance, 1945; the number of Friends had dropped by a thousand to just over 4,000 but plans were soon under way for a revival of the annual festivals, and the work of replacing the ancient glass and restoring the tombs and monuments was soon in full swing with Professor Tristram well to the fore in this field and a handsome book on the ancient glass by Bernard Rackham in preparation. The first post-war festival actually took place from June 21st to 28th in 1947, though it was not until the following summer of 1948 that the long postponed service of Agriculture (now restyled the Harvest Festival of

the World) actually took place. After this the Festivals took place year by year; the 1951 occasion being tied in with the Festival of Britain and running for ten days at the end of July (which was followed by a Civic Week and then Cricket Week). The indefatigable Miss Babington went off earlier this year for a tour in the U.S.A., and by the following March the number of Friends was up again to pre-war figures (5,654). This year, however, the Festival Week was replaced by two days only—one for adult Friends and one for Youth, thus foreshadowing modern practice—and this pattern was repeated in 1954, the great event of that year being the presentation of the replicas of the Black Prince's achievements. By this stage in the history of the Friends it was becoming clear that Miss Babington's health was beginning to fail and that great changes in the organisation of the Friends were inevitable. However, in 1955, a long weekend was held in early July attracting 700 Friends on the last day and in 1956 the silver jubilee of Miss Babington's tenure of office was celebrated with a great gathering of a thousand Friends on June 30th and the presentation of a cheque for something like £2,000 was a highlight of a festival in which the usual recitals of music and poetry, with lectures and special services, carried on the great tradition. But the end was, alas, in sight.

1958 was to be the end of a wonderful era, for little more than a month after the Festival in July, Miss Babington died on August 22nd, and in the following month came the death of the Founder himself, Bishop G. K. A. Bell, who had retired to Canterbury after resigning the See of Chichester only a short time before. In thirty years nearly £100,000 had been raised for the Cathedral by the Friends and membership stood at 5,600.

Now the annual festivals were to be on a more intimate scale centreing round Friends' Day and Youth Day with plays and music by local actors and musicians to add life to the occasion. The demands of Equity had ruled out any more visits from the B.B.C. Symphony Orchestra, and the "invention" of King's Week by Dr. Shirley and his staff made it possible for Canterbury still to have a yearly festival of music and drama without the Friends having to be responsible for its organisation. Once more in 1970 to mark the eighth centenary of the murder of St. Thomas there was to be a great Festival in which splendid services, a season of Eliot's *Murder in the Cathedral*, many fine concerts and Son et Lumiere were combined to fill almost a whole year of celebration. This, organised by the Cathedral Chapter and their staff, may be regarded as a great Epilogue to the festivals inaugurated by the Friends thirty years before, just as the Cathedral Appeal, launched in December, 1974, became the logical development of the work of the Friends for the fabric over so long a period in the past. This task may well again depend for its continuance chiefly on the enthusiasm of Friends in the future. In this Jubilee Year, then, may one of the most senior of Friends be allowed to look back reminiscently over this last half century and rejoice to have had some small part in all these great doings.

DEREK INGRAM HILL.

DRAMA IN THE FRIENDS' FESTIVALS

*"Not marble, nor the gilded monument
Of princes, shall outlive this power rime."*

One at least of the plays written for the Friends' festivals will fulfil Shakespeare's prophecy. The historians of the twentieth-century theatre are already reckoning that series of plays as a significant influence. So it is not unfitting for the Friends at their golden jubilee to recall the contribution they made to the expression in dramatic terms of some of the eternal verities for which the Cathedral stands.

The Coming of Christ, which George Bell as Dean caused John Masefield, Gustav Holst and Charles Ricketts to create at Whitsuntide, 1928, was not a Friends' festival play in name, but was the inspiration of the festival itself and of the plays born in it. The first few years were occupied with revivals. *Everyman* and *Doctor Faustus* (by a Canterbury-born author) were played in the open air outside the West Front. Then Tennyson's *Becket* took the stage of the Chapter House, which despite its formidably bad acoustic was to become the scene of the major festival creations. After two years of *Becket*, Laurence Binyon's *The Young King* followed in 1934; this was only linked to Canterbury insofar as the story of the strife between Henry II and his son was a sequel to his conflict with Thomas, and the play had twice been produced elsewhere. These years served the purpose of establishing the festival on a firm enough base of support to make feasible the presentation of new works.

George Bell had reserved the profits from *The Coming of Christ* as a fund for the commissioning of dramatists. In the whole development of the festival drama his close collaborator was Laurence Irving, who had played in *The Coming of Christ*, had secured the services of Ricketts (England's foremost designer) to create its costumes, and subsequently exercised his own talent in design on the festival stage and some of its plays. It was Irving who undertook to approach T. S. Eliot on Bell's behalf about writing a new play for 1935. He received with Eliot's acceptance the rather dismaying information that the poet's chosen subject was (once again!) Thomas Becket.

So the Canterbury plays began with the greatest of them all, *Murder in the Cathedral*. I have told the story of its production in *The Making of T. S. Eliot's Plays*. I directed all of them for the first time, reviving this one in the Cathedral Nave for the octocentenary of the martyrdom in 1970. And since *Murder* has already established its own immortality, I need say nothing about the play. The wisdom of George Bell was justified in this above all his children.

The next play suffered from the success of its predecessor; for I still regard Charles Williams' *Cranmer of Canterbury* as a great play, though it has been almost totally neglected since 1936. Williams had a mind like quicksilver. When I brought him to meet

Margaret Babington (why has no genius seized upon so marvellous a subject for a biography?) in the Chapter House, she said to him: "Mr. Williams, I have one request to make. The last four festival plays have ended with the hero being carried feet first through the audience. Will you please choose a man to whom this doesn't have to happen?" There was not an instant's pause. "Cranmer", said Williams; "he ran to his death".

In the prescribed time of ninety minutes he treated the whole of Cranmer's life from his Cambridge donship to his incineration; so the historical texture is dense. Nor is his *Cranmer* primarily an historical play. It is a Morality; the conflict is between Everyman-Cranmer and the most fascinatingly complex spiritual antagonist ever (I dare to say) created in a play, *Figura Rerum*, the Skeleton.

Dorothy L. Sayers was the next author, delightedly making the switch from Lord Peter Wimsey to the building of Canterbury's Choir. *The Zeal of Thy House* was much easier to understand than Williams, the verse more traditional than either his or Eliot's. It had something relevant to say, and said it in skilled theatrical fashion, abetted by Harcourt Williams and Frank Napier, with Canterbury's own beloved Vera Coburn Findlay in the only woman's part. Everyone loved it, not only in Canterbury but in London and many other cities. Two years later the authoress added her version of the Faust legend, *The Devil to Pay*; and *The Zeal* was revived in a post-war festival (1949). Between her plays came *Christ's Comet*, Christopher Hassall's re-telling of the Fourth Wise Man story. This, too, was revived, by me in the Marlowe Theatre in 1958, a swan-song of the beauty that Miss Babington had stimulated us all to create, the year she died.

Which is a way of suggesting that, strive as we all would, the Festival never recovered after the war that generosity in the giving of talents of all sorts which had distinguished it in the 'thirties. Miss Babington boldly re-started it in 1947, on the proceeds of two matinees of *Murder* that Robert Speaight, who had first played Becket, Cranmer, and Hassall's Artaban, gave with me at the Lyric Theatre in Shaftesbury Avenue to replenish George Bell's exhausted fund. The play was *Peasants' Priest* commissioned from Laurie Lee; its chief character, John Ball who led the peasants' revolt of 1381, was played by Bernard Miles.

I directed a cast composed as always before of faithful and hard-working local actors combined with a group of professionals; this pattern had been the foundation of the festival's success and of its hold on the affections of Canterbury people. As the changed conditions of the post-war period began to have their effect, this foundation was shaken: local help in all departments was less freely available, and the professionals who filled the gaps it left had necessarily to be more highly paid than before the war, and tended to remain more separate from the rest.

Two more plays of note were produced. Christopher Fry's *Thor, With Angels* (1948) had a final scene in which a Kentish farmer returns from hearing Augustine's first sermon at Canterbury to be

confronted with an actual crucifixion, that of a British slave carried out by his own brothers. It is a staggering dramatic stroke to end a play which until then had moved rather slowly. Fry's friend Robert Gittings made a tightly knit play on the martyr referred to by Becket as his predecessor, "the blessed Archbishop Alphege", who died in 1012 at the hands of the Danes crying "No vengeance!" *The Makers of Violence* was worthy of the Festival of Britain 1951.

Perhaps 1952, the twenty-fifth anniversary of their foundation, awoke an instinct in the Friends that, though their primary task of maintaining and beautifying the Cathedral was to continue, their Festival had done its work. There was a celebratory programme of "The Drama of our Festival Years", with George Bell in the chair, and a number of us participants re-creating scenes from the plays we had done. Next year, Miss Babington's health began to fail; and the Festival in effect died with her during the next five years.

That is not written with regret, though the process was a sad one. The drama of our festival years was the most potent single force for the restoration of both poetry and religion to the English stage. Whatever the present or future vicissitudes of English play-writing—and they will, of course, be many and various—those gifts from Canterbury will not be lost.

E. MARTIN BROWNE.

CANTERBURY'S FIRST IKON

St. Austin, the first Archbishop of Canterbury, is usually represented carrying a picture of our Lord; but one look around Canterbury will tell you that the kind of picture varies widely! The Victorians preferred to show a Crucifix on a banner (misreading Bede's Latin); but here and there you find something like Veronica's Veil. If you go very far afield, to San Francisco (should you be so lucky!), a mural in Grace Cathedral shows an ikon of Christ as Good Shepherd. All of these are attempts to interpret Bede's account. But can any reliable guidance be drawn from historical sources? What was possible, or probable, in 597?

St. Bede tells us of St. Austin's first meeting with King Ethelbert on the Isle of Thanet (*Hist.*, 1, 25; Penguin ed., p. 60):

"But the monks were endowed with power from God . . . and approached the king carrying a silver cross as their standard (*crucem pro vexillo ferentes argentiam*) and the likeness of our Lord and Saviour painted on a board (*imaginem Domini Salvatoris in tabula depictam*)."

And when the king granted them permission to go to Canterbury:

"Tradition says that as they approached the city, bearing the holy cross and the likeness of our great King and Lord Jesus Christ as was their custom (*more suo cum cruce sancta et imagine* . . .), they sang in unison this litany: "We pray Thee, O Lord, in all Thy mercy, that Thy wrath and anger be turned away from this city, and from Thy holy house; for we are sinners. Alleluia." (p. 70).

We have a clue to how Christ was shown in the word "King"; but these are Bede's only references to this likeness of Christ, and one is left with the impression that it had been lost by Bede's time. What became of it we may never know. Perhaps the Image was specially attacked in the lapse into paganism after King Ethelbert's death, as it was a principle sign of the Christian mission; maybe it was a victim of the periodic fires in Canterbury; it may have been dropped; or the voracious Kentish woodworm may have developed a taste for Italian food!

We may rightly call this "likeness painted on a board" an *ikon*: the word *imago*, like *eikon*, means "a copy of a prototype". And we are surely right to imagine that it had an honoured place for about five years in St. Martin's Church, where the band of missionaries "first assembled to sing the psalms, to pray, to say Mass, to preach, and to baptize" (1, 26; p. 71), before the Cathedral Church was consecrated in 603. To call the carrying of the Image a "custom" certainly means that it was frequently taken in procession, a sight impressive enough to be vivid in the tradition and "recollections of older men" (Bede's *Preface*; p. 34), more than a century after the events, as received by Bede's Canterbury informants.

Now let us unpeel the onion.

Pope Gregory had a deep personal interest in the mission to the English; once he had tried to go himself, but was caught and compelled to return by the people of Rome. Austin was the Pope's personal envoy in the venture, almost an *alter ego*. Gregory wanted

to ensure success. And what better visual aid for a mission to illiterate people than an image of the Saviour, that they might see for themselves the Incarnate God being preached in their midst? We can readily imagine Pope Gregory himself handing Austin this ikon. What might Pope Gregory have had to give him, in 596?

St. Gregory was in Constantinople from 578 to about 586 as the *Apokrisarios* of Pope Pelagius II. Although Gregory never mastered Greek, his ambassadorial role must have meant many official invitations and appearances at court and church ceremonies, with the usual presentations of gifts, and so on. Some of these gifts were probably ikons, for in 590, Pope Gregory was having processions of ikons in Rome, and to this day, a badly damaged ikon of Christ, said to have belonged to him, is in the Sancta Sanctorum of the Lateran.

St. Gregory may have given this ikon to the Lateran Cathedral (dedicated to the Saviour at that time, not St. John) in about 590, when he became Pope. In the period of the Iconoclastic Controversy, we have references to barefooted popes taking it in procession, as when the Lombards threatened Rome. Pope Innocent III (1198-1216) had it covered with intricate silver work, leaving only the face and feet exposed; even so, the whole ikon is kept veiled, and revealed only on Christmas, Easter, and Ascension Days. Until 1572, an ancient custom was to take the ikon in procession on the night of August 15th, from the Lateran to the Santa Maria Maggiore—the undertone of Byzantine ceremonial is clear; Christ is King and Emperor! The ikon was cleaned and examined early this century. It is painted on a walnut panel, 1.42 m × 0.68 m (4 ft. 8 in. × 2 ft. 3 in.). In Italian, it is called “*Acherópita*”, i.e., *Acheiropolētos*), “Not-Made-by-Hands”. From what remains of the original painting, we can see that it showed “our Lord God and Saviour Jesus Christ” (as *Liber Pontificalis*, the earliest surviving reference says) with a three-rayed nimbus, on a gold throne decorated with precious stones. He holds a scroll in his left hand, while his right is in the attitude of blessing.

Now in 574, only a short while before Gregory went to Constantinople as Papal Legate, a famous Ikon of Christ was brought into the City from Camuliana in Cappadocia. It is likely that after the grand, ceremonial entry of the Camuliana Ikon, there was some commemoration of the event, and a special place of honour accorded to the wonder-working Ikon. The original must have spawned many copies; and it is not unlikely that Gregory either was given one, as the official representative of the Roman See, or commissioned a copy himself. Such is the probable origin of the Lateran Ikon.

We cannot be sure what the Camuliana Ikon looked like; it was among the first broken by iconoclast heretics. But it was of the “Not-Made-by-Hands” group, of which the Image of Christ at Edessa was the most famous and influential. The Edessa Image is shown now, after the scrupulous historical research of Mr. Ian Wilson, to be in fact none other than the present Holy Shroud of Turin—the very Burial Shroud of Christ! On this 14-foot-long linen Shroud, the Face appears most clearly in the stains, but the

entire naked figure of the scourged and crucified Lord, front and back, can be seen as in a photographic negative. In Constantinople, the Image of Edessa was kept "folded double, four times"; this would be nonsensical with a large handkerchief, but when it is done with the long Shroud, the Holy Face is then left visible, with its strange "bodiless" appearance. Hence the classic "Mandylion" Ikon. The Image on the Shroud is certainly not made by hands, being the product (it seems) of stains from contact with the Corpse; and as ikons must always bear the name of their prototype, any copy of the Shroud, or part of it, would be named "Not-Made-by-Hands". The ikons were not so named through overcredulity, but through *obedience to the truth!* Some of these ikons were of the Face alone; some showed the full-length figure. But Sixth Century Christians refrained from showing the Lord naked, and so "translated" the Shroud Image into one of Christ Reigning in Glory, *i.e.*, clothed and enthroned, though still counting this as a copy of the original Image on the cloth. Various references to the Camuliana Ikon indicate that it was of this type. This figure, as we have said, is what the Lateran Ikon shows.

So it is not unlikely that the Ikon of Christ that St. Austin brought to Canterbury in 597 was a copy of Pope Gregory's copy of the Camuliana Ikon, which can be traced back to the prototypical Image produced by the contact of the Shroud with our Lord's Body Itself. If St. Austin's Ikon was anywhere near the size of the Lateran Ikon (4 ft. 8 in. × 2 ft. 3 in.), it would indeed be impressive in procession, and worth a vivid memory! It must have taken two men to carry it.

Quantities of relics came in the baggage of St. Austin's first mission, and more came with the reinforcements sent by St. Gregory in 601. (1, 29; p. 85; Deanesly, pp. 44-45). These were mostly pieces of linen which had been layed on the tombs of Apostles and Martyrs, "third class relics", to be used as the dedication relics in new churches, or in new altars in old temples purged of pagan worship. (See 1, 30; p. 86 f).

Now, the Image "Not-Made-by-Hands" was considered a Relic of Christ Himself, the painted copies no less than the original. Could the Ikon brought by St. Austin have been intended as a Dedication Relic? It is highly likely! And in what church? None is more likely than his Cathedral Church. Its dedication? Bede tells us:

"Having been granted his episcopal see in the royal capital . . . Augustine proceeded with the king's help to repair a church which he was informed had been built long ago by Roman Christians. This he hallowed in the Name of *our Saviour, God, and Lord Jesus Christ*, and established there a dwelling for himself and his successors." (1, 33; p. 91, Ital. mine.)

The echo of Bede's references to the title of the Ikon, and the reference in *Liber Pontificalis* (which may quote the full, formal title), no longer seem mere coincidence. The interdependence of the name of the Ikon and the dedication of the Cathedral Church of Canterbury seems very close indeed!

If we may be bold, it seems that the Cathedral Church of our Saviour, God, and Lord Jesus Christ, Canterbury, is so titled because of the particular Ikon brought by St. Austin to be used as the Dedication Relic of his episcopal Church. The countless parish churches, cathedrals, colleges, and even cities throughout the Anglican Communion bearing the title "Christ Church", then, ultimately derive their dedications through this Ikon as well—to a generous mind it might be a remarkable sign of the veneration of ikons in Anglicanism!

FR. CHRISTOPHER PIERCE KELLEY.

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Wilson, I. "The Shroud in History", *Tablet*, April 13th, 1974; and a lively and generous correspondence since November, 1974.

See also:

Green, M., OSB. "Enshrouded in Silence", *Ampleforth Journal*, Autumn, 1969, pp. 321 ff. It was at that time that the international and interdisciplinary commission for the study of the Holy Shroud of Turin was formed. By the time of publication, its positive reports on the Holy Shroud of Christ should be available. Also of interest are the pollen studies of Prof. Max Frei of the Zurich Police Laboratory, which demonstrate that the Shroud was in Palestine in the First Century. Is there anyone else whose shroud would have been so carefully kept?

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FRIENDS OF CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL

BALANCE SHEET AND ACCOUNTS

30th SEPTEMBER, 1977

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT AND MOVEMENT OF FUNDS AND RESERVES FOR THE YEAR ENDED 30th SEPTEMBER, 1977

GENERAL FUND	Note	Year ended 30/9/77	Year ended 30/9/76
INCOME		£	£
Subscriptions		8,565	6,653
Donations and Legacies		8,623	5,237
Donations for Cathedral Appeal Fund ...		1,148	1,124
Less: Expenses, Artists' Fees, etc.		278	146
		870	978
Dividends and Interest on Investments ...		920	867
Interest on Bank Deposit Account		273	349
Interest on Deposit with Central Board of Finance		343	—
Box Office Commission		223	160
Rent (less Repairs)		72	71
Transfer re Subscriptions of Deceased Life Members		20	95
Surplus from 1977 Friends Days		119	188
		20,028	14,598
Less: Notional Interest Transferred to Cloister Bays Fund		221	205
		19,807	14,393
EXPENSES			
Administrative Salaries	1	4,581	2,486
Office Overheads	2	2,603	2,477
Chronicle and Annual Report		1,418	1,135
Promotion and Publicity		90	27
		8,692	6,125
		11,115	8,268
SURPLUS FOR THE YEAR		15,955	16,516
ACCUMULATED FUND AT START OF YEAR		27,070	24,784
Less: Gifts to Cathedral	3	16,980	7,600
Donations for Cathedral Appeal Fund ...		870	978
		17,850	8,578
Adjustment to equate Investments to Market Value		(5,444)	251
		12,406	8,829
ACCUMULATED FUND AT END OF YEAR		£14,664	£15,955
LORD BENNET FUND			
Representing £683.33 Nominal 3½% War Loan Increase/(Decrease) in Market Value of Investment		90	(4)
Accumulated Fund at start of year		171	175
		£261	£171
at end of year			
LIFE MEMBERS' RESERVE			
Subscriptions from New Members	(2)	50	(5)
Accumulated Reserve at start of year ...		5,735	5,705
		5,785	5,830
Less: Transfer to General Fund re Deceased Members	(1)	20	(4)
Accumulated Reserve at end of year		£5,765	£5,735

BALANCE SHEET AS AT 30th SEPTEMBER, 1977

	Note	Year ended 30/9/77	Year ended 30/9/76
		£	£
FIXED ASSETS			
Freehold Property, 50 St. Martin's Road, Canterbury		2,000	2,000
Investments at Market Value:			
Equities		1,466	13,458
Fixed Interest		2,018	1,452
		<u>3,484</u>	<u>14,910</u>
Office Equipment at cost less depreciation ... 4		600	482
		<u>6,084</u>	<u>17,392</u>
NET CURRENT ASSETS			
Stocks		1,285	996
Income Tax Recoverable		1,610	1,133
Sundry Debtors and Prepayments		320	167
Cash at Bank and in Hand	5	5,118	7,323
Cash on Deposit with Central Board of Finance		12,000	—
		<u>20,333</u>	<u>9,619</u>
Less: Creditors and Accrued Charges		(779)	(878)
Cash to be paid to Cathedral Appeal Fund		(444)	(85)
		<u>19,110</u>	<u>8,656</u>
NET ASSETS		<u>£25,194</u>	<u>£26,048</u>
Representing: ACCUMULATED FUNDS AND RESERVES per Income and Expenditure Accounts			
GENERAL FUND		14,664	15,955
LORD BENNET FUND		261	171
LIFE MEMBERS RESERVE		5,765	5,735
		<u>20,690</u>	<u>21,861</u>
 earmarked FUNDS FOR			
EDWARD THE CONFESSOR'S CHAPEL UPKEEP		300	300
CLOISTER BAYS	6	4,204	3,887
		<u>4,504</u>	<u>4,187</u>
		<u>£25,194</u>	<u>£26,048</u>

The foregoing Balance Sheet and annexed Accounts, have been prepared from a basis of actual costs (without adjusting those costs for inflation) unless otherwise stated.

In addition to this and to the relevant Notes, the foregoing Balance Sheet and Income and Expenditure Account give, in our opinion, a true and fair view of the state of affairs of the Friends of Canterbury Cathedral as at 30th September 1977 and of the Surplus for the year ended on that date as disclosed by the records of the Charity and the information and explanations supplied to us.

4th January 1978
Canterbury

REEVES & NEYLAN,
Chartered Accountants.

NOTES TO THE GENERAL FUND

	Year ended 30/9/77	Year ended 30/9/76
	£	£
1. ADMINISTRATIVE SALARIES		
Salaries paid—relating to Current Year	3,381	2,486
relating to Previous Years	1,200	—
	<u>£4,581</u>	<u>£2,486</u>
2. GENERAL FUND — OFFICE OVERHEAD EXPENSES		
Rates, Water and Insurance	431	277
Light, Heat and Cleaning	503	443
Printing and Stationery	295	335
Postage	270	260
Telephone	168	161
Equipment: Repairs and Renewals	38	112
Depreciation	67	54
Travel	470	428
Accountancy	321	364
Miscellaneous	40	43
	<u>£2,603</u>	<u>£2,477</u>
3. GIFTS TO CATHEDRAL		
Towards the Pilgrimage Centre:—		
Shares transferred on 3/5/77 at		
Market Value*	16,280	—
Cash	700	—
Towards Restoration of Mural Paintings	—	4,500
Gift for restoration of Jubilee Cloister Bay	—	3,000
Register of Gifts	—	80
Sculpture Model of Davidson Tomb ...	—	14
	<u>£16,980</u>	<u>£7,600</u>

* The Market Value of these shares at 30/9/77 was £20,860.

NOTES TO THE BALANCE SHEET

4. OFFICE EQUIPMENT		
Cost less Depreciation at 30/9/76 ...	482	53
Additions during year	185	—
	667	53
Less: Depreciation at 10%	67	5
Cost less Depreciation at 30/9/77 ...	<u>£600</u>	<u>£48</u>
5. CASH AT BANK AND IN HAND		
Cash at Lloyds Bank Ltd.—		
Current Accounts	2,972	1,27
Deposit Account	882	4,93
Cash at National Savings Bank—		
Ordinary Account	58	4
Special Investment Account	1,133	1,05
Cash in Hand	73	4
	<u>£5,118</u>	<u>£7,32</u>
6. CLOISTER BAYS FUND		
Income—Subscriptions and Donations ...	—	4
Interest—Notional	221	20
Actual	96	4
	317	3
Accumulated Fund at start of year ...	3,887	3,5
	<u>£4,204</u>	<u>£3,8</u>



THE
FRIENDS
OF
CANTERBURY
CATHEDRAL

SUPPLEMENT TO THE CHRONICLE 1977

STEWARD'S LETTER

April 1977.

Dear Friends,

I am glad to be able to tell you that I was over-pessimistic in my letter last April in foreseeing a decline in our "Surplus" at September 1976 compared with 1975. We were instead up £3000 and for that I heartily thank all those of you who either increased their normal subscriptions or made us extra donations. We also benefited from two or three substantial legacies from Friends who had remembered us in their Wills.

There was unhappily not the great increase in Membership numbers we had hoped for; but let us hope for better things in this Jubilee Year, and particularly from the special "Friends Desk" we shall be operating in the S.W. Transept from early May where overseas visitors in particular will, I hope, be enrolled in large numbers.

It has been decided not to hold the Spring Evening this year for the simple reason that it would have been too closely followed by Friends' Day on June 18th (a month earlier than last year): All details of this are in the centre pages of this supplement as are those for Jubilee Celebrations in the Autumn.

You will notice that contrary to usual practice on Friends' Day, there is to be an Address this year at Fest Evensong. The Archbishop will be present but Canon Hill whose knowledge of The Friends extends over the whole of our 50 years, is giving the Address.

With greetings and the best of good wishes to all,

Yours sincerely,

JOHN NICHOLAS.

CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL

FRIENDS' EVENTS 1977

(The Golden Jubilee Year of The Friends)

EVENT No.1 FRIENDS' DAY - Saturday, 18th June

PROGRAMME:

STERN CRYPT: 11.00 am Sung Eucharist

AUGUSTINE'S 12.20 - 1.45 pm Buffet Luncheon
in the dininghall for up to 200 who secure
their tickets in advance.
Transport will be provided from the Precincts to
St. Augustine's and back for those who confirm their need
of this in advance.)

STERN CRYPT: 2.00 pm Annual Meeting

GREAT CLOISTER 2.45 pm
Dedication of The Friends of Canterbury
Cathedral 'Jubilee' Bay

VE 3.15 pm Festal Evensong with an Address

AFTER HOUSE & GREAT CLOISTER 4.30 pm Tea with some kind
of entertainment on the Cloister Garth
immediately after tea.

VE 7.30 pm Special Concert - see back page for details

TICKET DETAILS

the cost of a ticket for the day covering both lunch and
tea £1.50

the cost of a ticket for lunch only £1.20

the cost of a ticket for tea only 30p

the section of all tickets should please be retained through-
out the day in order that Stewards upon sight of it may
readily admit Friends and their guests to special places for
services etc.

Please use the form on page 5 for ordering tickets, return-
ing it to The Friends' Office as soon as possible AND NO
LATER than 1st JUNE when it is likely we shall need to stop
the sale of tickets, save for a very few held in reserve for
late arrivals from abroad.

1 SATURDAYS

4th September
and

1st October '77

The Friends will particularly celebrate the Golden Jubilee of Dean Bell's 1927 inspiration to form The Friends of Canterbury Cathedral. It was on 20th July of that year that his article appeared in *The Times* defining the objective of such a society as being "to gather around the cathedral in association with the Dean and Chapter a body of supporters who are prepared to take some share in caring for it and in preserving it for posterity." This article brought forth an immediate and enthusiastic response, the society was formed, and the first meeting of its management Council was held in the Deanery on 8th November 1927. Plans for the Autumn Saturdays are as yet uncertain in every detail; but Evensong at 3.15 pm and Tea will be followed by Lectures and/or films in the Chapter House on 24th September with, probably, Compline afterwards to close the day. On 1st October a snack and glass of wine will be available from 6.15 pm in the Chapter House for Friends and their guests who would find this convenient before the 7.30 pm "Rex Vivus" performance in the Nave, and who obtain tickets in advance (see back page).

Barring accidents, a separate leaflet on the exciting and dramatic "Rex Vivus" will be accompanying this Supplement to the Chronicle.

day PROGRAMME

in June The Day will centre around the theme of
 CINCTS & "PROCLAIMING THE CHRISTIAN FAITH TODAY"
 E with 500/600 pupils from schools with corporate
 Membership of The Friends attending. Some half
 dozen of the schools will "perform" their own
 interpretations of the Christian story in a
 variety of forms primarily for the schools'
 audience but also for Cathedral visitors.
 15am There will be a short Service of welcome and
 E praise at which it is hoped the choir of
 Betteshanger School will sing.
 45-12.30 The choir and Brass Band (36 members each) of
 E St.John's School, Margate will perform extracts
 from Handel's "Messiah" and be followed by:
 one school's performance of their interpreta-
 tion of an aspect of the Christian Faith.
 30-1.45pm Lunch Break. Bar-B-Que in the Water Tower
 Garden (Tickets 35p). There will be separate
 stalls at which ice cream and soft drinks may
 be purchased at cost price.
 5-3.15pm Further performances by schools (including
 E Archbishop's on "Easter" and Ashford on "Whit-
 sun". St.John's will perform a further extract
 from "Messiah", before a Blessing and departure.

- - - - -

ALL SCHOOLS ATTENDING PLEASE CONFIRM TO THE FRIENDS'
 THE NUMBERS FOR WHOM SEATS SHOULD BE RESERVED IN THE
 NAVE, AND ALSO NUMBERS WANTING BAR-B-QUE TICKETS.
 FORM ON REVERSE OF THIS MAY BE USED FOR THIS PURPOSE IF
 MEANS OF NOTIFYING YOUTH DAY REQUIREMENTS HAVE NOT
 BEEN USED.

TICKET ORDER FORM 1977

For return to Friends' Office at earliest date possible please, and NOT LATER THAN 1st JUNE for Event 1.

1st MAY " " 2.

FRIENDS' EVENTS.

Tickets required

EVENT 1. @ £1.50 each

Friends' @ £1.20 " ONLY

ay @ .30p " ONLY

EVENT 2.

outh Day @ .35 p (Total expected t

Bar.B.Que attend the Day)

for use by schools who have not previously given this information).

EVENT 3.

utumn 'Jubilee' @ .50p each - 24th September

ccasions @ .75p each - 1st October at 6.15pm in

Chapter House for Friends

Guests ONLY who have ticke

for 7.30 'Rex Vivus' performance in Nav

and would like a glass of wine and snack

beforehand.

(see below and back page for 'Rex Vivus' details)

OTHER EVENTS

JUBILEE CONCERT 18.6.77

. @£1.0050p

(special prices for Friends only who apply no later than 1st June)

ONDON MOZART PLAYERS 23.6.77

. @ £2.00 @ £1.50 @£1.00

. @ .50p or .30p

EX VIVUS by The Elizabethans 1.11.77

. £2.00 @ £1.50 @ £1.00

. @ .75p

DETAILS OF THESE 3 PERFORMANCES ON BACK PAGE

NAME:

ADDRESS:

DATE:

PLEASE SEND STAMPED ADDRESSED ENVELOPE FOR TICKETS.

DEATH OF FRIENDS

March 1st 1976 - Feb; 28th 1977.

ALLEN Miss E.M.	HOPPER Miss A.E.
ALLEN Mrs J.J.	HORSTEAD Miss V.M.
ANDERSON Mr.F.S.A.	INGLE Mr J.W.B.
ARCHER Lady	INNOUS Mr D.H.
BARCLAY Miss C.O.	JOHNSON Mrs M.
BATTERBEE Sir Harry	KESTEVEN Miss N.
BAYNTON Mr A.	KILLICK Mr G.W.
BLACK Mrs C.S.	LEACH Mrs W.H.
BOSSANYI Mr E.	LEE Miss M.B.
BOSTOCK Mrs E.S	LEON His Hon.Judge H.C.
BOWYER Miss J.M	McCOMBIE Mr G.J.
BRIDGEWATER Mrs K.F.	MAN Lt.Col.L.G.
BRUXNER Mr M.	MAXSE Dame Marjorie
CAMPBELL Dr S.	MAYLAM Mr R.C.
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CATO Mrs M.E.	MOORE Miss M.F
CLEAVER Miss M.L.	MORRIS Miss M.A
COOK Mr A.R.	PAINE Miss M.E
COWELL Mr N.	PARRATT Mr L.F.
COXEN Miss G.	PIDDUCK Mrs F.E.
CRADDOCK Lt.Gen.Sir Richard	PRESTON Miss H.
CREMER Mr H.L.	ROBINSON Mrs M.B,
CROWTHER Miss M.A.	SALMON Miss C.G.
DAVIES Miss L.W.	SPENCER Miss M.
DAY Miss E.	STOKES Miss K.L.
DON Dr A.V.R.	STEPHENS Mr J.
FINDLAY Comm.N.C.M.	STROUD Mrs D.M.
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French-BLAKE Mrs I.	THORNDIKE Dame Sybil
GLAISBY Mr L.A.	THOMPSON Mrs V.
GOLDFINCH Miss W.	TINLEY Miss A.K.
GOODEN The Rt.Rev.R.B.	TOWNSEND Mrs J.G.
GOULDEN Mr. A.T.	TUCKER Mrs E.
HAMAND Mrs L.A.	VERE Mrs K. de
HARRIS Miss M.F.	VLIET Miss N.H.Van
HAYNES Mrs P.	WESTCAR Mrs D.H.Prescott
HAWKSFIELD Mr H.T.	WILSON Mr A.V.
HELSON Mrs M.H.	WILKINS The Rev.N.J.
ELMORE Miss H.	WOODWARD Mr R.J.W.

SPECIAL "JUBILEE" CONCERTS, Etc. 1977
(Especially programmed to coincide with dates of
Friends' Events)

ALL IN CATHEDRAL NAVE AT 7.30p.m.

JUNE 18th

HANDEL'S 4 'CORONATION' ANTHEMS

Cathedral Choir and
Canterbury Festival Orchestra
(Leader: Maureen McKeown)

Conductor: ALLAN WICKS

Special seats for Friends at only £1.00 and 50p
- - - -

JUNE 23rd

"MOZART SERENADE"

(Movements from Divertimento in FK247;
Oboe Concerto in C Eine Kleine Nachtmusik;
Symphony No.40 in G Minor)

LONDON MOZART PLAYERS

Conductor: HARRY BLECH

Oboe: NEIL BLACK

Tickets: £2.00; £1.50; £1.00; 50p and 30p
- - - -

OCTOBER 1st

REX VIVUS

(A Morality Play with elaborate medieval ceremonial
Processions and Court dances to English Music and
Song of the 13th and 14th centuries.)

by THE ELIZABETHANS - a Company of Players,
Instrumentalists, Singers and Dancers
directed by
SHEILA GRAHAM

Tickets: £2.00; £1.50; £1.00; 75p

ADVANCE BOOKING AT FRIENDS' OFFICE only or AT DOOR



ANTERBURY CATHEDRAL CHRONICLE 1978

6.11.2000

THE FRIENDS OF CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL

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EDITORIAL

It is with pleasure that we publish in this number the address given by Lord Clark of Saltwood in the Chapter House to mark the Jubilee of the Friends last autumn and this will enable Friends who were unable to be present or were baffled by the peculiar acoustics of the building to enjoy this lecture at leisure.

Since he delivered the Magna Carta commemoration address, which we also publish, Dr. S. Evans has been made Dean of Salisbury and we may perhaps be allowed to congratulate him on his preferment and wish him many years residence under the shadow of England's finest spire.

Other contributors to this number include such old friends as Dr. William Urry and Canons Hill and Allchin while we are happy to print an article by a young friend Mr. J. F. Chesshyre who is by profession a publisher and an expert on old prints, as well as an article by the Sacrist of the Cathedral whose hobby is bees. Last but not least are the photographs which show the Quire today and contrasted with its appearance more than a century ago, and a commemoration of a very happy occasion at Lambeth Palace which marked among things the appreciation that all lovers of the Cathedral feel for the interest taken in the Appeal by our Seneschal Lord Astor of Hever.



The Quire c. 1840 shortly after the re-ordering

CATHEDRAL NOTES AND NEWS

The eastern arm of the Cathedral comprising the Quire and Trinity Chapel were closed for worship and visiting for the first six months of 1977 while a great process of cleaning vaults and stone work took place. While the scaffolding was in place the great boss in the centre of the high vault of the crossing which dates from about 1178 and shows the Paschal Lamb carrying the flag of victory . . . symbolic of Christ's Resurrection was repainted with splendid effect by Mr. S. Lawford one of the Cathedral's own works staff. Worshippers coming to Evensong on July 7th the Feast of the Translation of St. Thomas of Canterbury, when the Quire was restored to use, found the High Altar set up in its ancient position on the dais between the tombs of Archbishops Sudbury and Bouchier where it had stood from the building of the Quire down to 1825, and the Marble Chair of the Primates placed it its original position at the top of the steps leading to the Trinity Chapel and just to the west of the celebrated mosaic pavement which in mediaeval times linked it to the Shrine of the holy blissful martyr. Minor Canon Gostling in his celebrated Walk in and about Canterbury says the reordering of 1825 was done 'in order to give a lengthened appearance to the Quire' (*a painting of the Quire shortly after the re-ordering of 1825 is reproduced on the facing page and makes interesting comparison with the Front-Cover photograph of the 1977 re-ordered Quire*), but in the last hundred years the wisdom of this alteration had been questioned by many authorities including Dean Wace, who said in 1910 to the Society of Antiquaries that he had always felt it an outrage that he could not celebrate in the proper place (St. Anselm's altar), but that if the restoration (to the original position) was to be carried out he would require strong moral support as many concerned had very short archaeological memories! If the present Dean and Chapter needed strong moral support they have certainly had it from the high-powered Cathedrals Advisory Committee, the members of which (all lay men and women eminent in the field of art and architecture) expressed their unanimous approval in a letter to the Dean on All Saints Day recalling that the present arrangement goes back to the time of St. Anselm c. 1100 being reaffirmed in the rebuilding of William of Sens and William the Englishman following the fire of 1174. A few lines from the letter may be worth quoting here . . .

'Anselm's arrangement clearly was intended to express the metropolitan role of the see of Canterbury. He himself had been called by the pope 'quasi papa alterius orbis' and it is perhaps natural that he should think to copy the papal arrangement of the bishops throne elevated behind the altar. Canterbury took on a different metropolitan role following the Reformation and the expansion of the Anglican Communion but St. Augustines Chair at Canterbury placed in its traditional position remains a fitting expression of that role. Visually the traditional arrangement looks

absolutely right in terms of the architectural space of the building: it brings the altar into the centre of the great apse rather than placing it on the periphery. Furthermore the lower level makes it seem much less isolated from the congregation than it did when placed up the mountain of steps that lead to the floor level of the Trinity Chapel. Altogether it is far more in keeping with modern liturgical ideas.'

The rearranged sanctuary was seen to the greatest advantage on All Saints Day when the Archbishop occupied his Chair for the first part of the service for the consecration of the Bishop of Croydon with his assistant bishops around him and again at the Carol service on Christmas Eve when he was supported by the Dean and Chapter wearing the splendid copes made for the Enthronement in 1975. Many who may have had doubts about the wisdom of the reordering of the Cathedral sanctuary must have been convinced that the builders and planners of the twelfth century to whom posterity owes so great a debt were wise in their generation and that the planners of the late twentieth century can learn not a little from them if they have a mind to do so.

In the Crypt exhibition which has been drawing great numbers of visitors for the last three years can be seen the ring and vestments found in 1890 on the body of Archbishop Hubert Walter (died 1205) when his tomb in the Trinity Chapel was opened.

Miss Anne Oakley archivist to the Dean and Chapter thought that there was a possibility that the designs on the stole might be arabic characters and this has indeed proved to be the case. Her notes on this discovery are worth printing here. She writes . . .

'I have now heard from the Dean of the Institute of Islamic Studies at the University of the Phillipines who tells me that it is indeed so. Some time ago, I mentioned to you the possibility that the designs on the stole found in the tomb of Hubert Walter are arabic characters. The designs represent the name of the Prophet Muhammad repeated many times to form a pattern. The characters are in squared Kufi which is one of the earliest Arabic scripts, and when used for designs, short vowels and other diacritical marks are omitted as understood. The artist also indulges in artistic licence or disguises letters to overcome the limitations of space, material, or to represent codes.

The Dean has gone into great detail in describing the various patterns, showing how the artist has managed to incorporate the name of the prophet at least 64 times into each design; and also how these designs are similar and dissimilar to designs on mosques in Iran and Central Asia.

He says he has no doubt that the stole was made by muslims. Textiles were being made in Egypt, Syria, Iran and Central Asia, (as indeed we already know from the fragments of material here cut from seal bags), and an expert could easily tell where the cloth was woven. He suggests the eastern regions of Islam.

The weavers or designers of the name of the prophet belonged to some Sufi (mystical) orders. Among the early Muslim mystics the cross (following the Egyptians of Pharonic times) was a symbol of eternal life. The square stood for stability and order of the cosmic system. The swastika is an ancient symbol having to do with light and movement and was adopted by some people who had become converted to Islam. From this the Dean guesses that one of the designs was meant to convey the Sufi idea of 'The light of Muhammad'.

As you may know, Archbishop Hubert Walter acted as a negotiator for Richard I when the king was ill, and himself concluded a treaty with Saladin who greatly respected him. Perhaps this was a present? It is all very interesting.'

In a more light hearted vein Dr. William Urry has sent us an account of an incident during the meeting of the British Archaeological Society in Canterbury in 1844 at which there was a lively discussion relating to the theory of spontaneous combustion thought to be due in some circumstances to guano. One of the speakers stated that upon the roof of the cathedral were continually perched flocks of birds and it was not impossible that if their exuviae accumulated to a great extent and a strong wind arose during a thunder storm it might cause a similiar lamentable destruction to that so piteously yet graphically described by the monk Gervase (the fire of 1174). Professor Buckland had remarked that 1844 morning upwards of fifty pigeons flying in and out of the cathedral through broken panes of glass. The cathedral too at Pisa was destroyed he said by spontaneous combustion and he trusted that the proper authorities at Canterbury would see that the needful precautions were taken. This evoked an indignant denial on the part of Mr. Austin the surveyor that there was any accumulation of bird droppings around the cathedral and an apology from Dr. Spry one of the residentiaries who said that in an immense pile like the cathedral a few broken panes were unavoidable. The last word however was with that witty clergyman the Revd. Richard Barham author of the Ingoldsby Legends who wrote this little poem ...

By the droppings of dickybirds fanned by a breeze-a
Spontaneous combustion occurred once at Pisa
So beware then grave guardians of old Durovernum
Lest cock robins build in your cloisters and burn 'em.

Miss Oakley has also drawn up for us a chronological list of the architects, masters of the works, and master masons of the Cathedral, from Norman times to the present day. For the mediaeval period she acknowledges a great debt to the distinguished historian John Harvey whose Dictionary of English Mediaeval Architects

is the classic work of its kind. Here are the names of the mediaeval architects with the dates when they were employed by the Benedictine community

Architects, Masters of the Works and Master Masons of Canterbury Cathedral, taken in the main from John Harvey's 'Dictionary of English Medieval Architects'

1090 - 1110	Blitherius, Master of the Works
1174 - 1178	William of Sens
1178 - 1214	William the Englishman
c. 1213	John of Canterbury, mason
c. 1214	Ralph
c 1300	Michael of Canterbury
1308 - 1335	Thomas of Canterbury
1350 - 1375	John Box
1378 - 1400	Henry Yevele
1400 - 1417	Stephen Lote
1421 - 1432	Thomas Mapilton
1429 - 1449	John Bryan or Brown
1432 - 1458	Richard Beke
1458 - 1466	Thomas Glasier
1466	Thomas Redman
1490 - 1515	John Wastell, surveyor to Archbishop John Morton

Architects, surveyors, inspectors and clerks of works to the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury

In 1722 the Dean and Chapter carried out a great survey to find out how much they had spent on the repair of the cathedral since 1660. As some of the treasurers' books were missing the sum arrived at was in some doubt, but generally believed to be £12,000. On the strength of this, and in association with the Archbishop of Canterbury, they petitioned the King and Parliament for public funds to help in the maintenance of the fabric. Nothing seems to have come of the petition and as a consequence only small repairs were done from year to year in the summer, despite the list of necessities drawn up in 1722.

Since the dissolution, no architect seems to have been permanently attached to the foundation, and none has ever worked exclusively on the cathedral fabric. The word architect does not appear to have been used before 1767.

Previous architects were called surveyors and this leads to confusion with surveyors of estates and inspectors or surveyors of workmen.

Here are the details since 1746:

Architects and Surveyors

Architects

1746 George Dance
1767 - 1770 Robert Mylne

Surveyors

1797 - 1821 Jesse White
1822 - 1829 Dent Hepper
1829 - 1848 George Austin
1848 - 1889 Harry Geo. Austin

Architects

1859 - 1860 (Sir) G. G. Scott

1892 - 1897 Sir Arthur Blomfield
1901 W. D. Caröe

1942 H. Anderson

1969 Peter Marsh

Clerks of Works

Inspectors

1770 - 1776 John Rigden
1789 - 1797 Mr. Dering

Clerks of Works

1797 - 1821 Jesse White
1822 - 1828 Dent Hepper
1828 - 1848 George Austin
1848 - 1889 Harry Geo. Austin

1889 - 1908 Mr. Andrews
foreman only

1908 - 1943 T. H. Spinks
1943 - 1945 Anthony W.
Swaine
1945 - 1956 Colin W. Walker
1956 - 1975 Bertram C.
Doughty

1975 - Brian J. Lemar

The Worshipful Company of Masons, London, has recently honoured Mr. Peter Marsh in the terms of this January, 1978 notice to the press:

“In recognition of his outstanding contribution towards the maintenance and restoration of Canterbury Cathedral, Mr. Peter Dudley Marsh was recently elected to the Honorary Freedom and Livery of the Masons Company of London. He was admitted to the Freedom of the Company at the Epiphany Court held at Mercers Hall on January 10th, 1978 and he is to be admitted to the Livery at the Lady Day Court which is to be held on the 22nd March, 1978.

Only twice in recent years has the Masons Company conferred Honorary Membership in recognition of outstanding services to its craft. Both such recipients, Sir Basil Spence and Sir Charles Wheeler, are not deceased.”

‘The Company writes further

There are a number of publications setting out the history of the various Livery Companies of the City of London but they are the old Trade Guilds. Until the Middle Ages it was necessary to be a Freeman of the Company in order to be allowed to carry on

your trade or craft in the City and the Companies, which were answerable to the Lord Mayor and the Court of Aldermen, exercised a very strict control over the quality of the workmanship and materials used. Some of the Companies, not I hasten to add ourselves, became fairly wealthy both in their own right and as Trustees of charitable funds left to them by wealthy merchants and liverymen. While most liverymen are now business and professional men, the Companies concerned do in the main try to keep in touch with their old trade or craft and quite a number of our Livery are in fact concerned with the construction industry.'

Many readers of the Friends Chronicle for 1977 will have been interested in the reference to Cecil Thomas the sculptor who designed the bronze effigy of Archbishop Randall Davidson in the Trinity Chapel, and the fine memorial tablet to Cardinal Odet de Coligny in the same chapel. Mr. Thomas also executed a fine statue called the 'Boy with a leaping fish' which he gave to the cathedral. This stood for many years in the garden at the west end of the Cathedral until the building of the new Chapter Office in 1963, and a picture of it there with a descriptive article by Mr. Thomas himself appears in the Friends Report XVII for 1944. After lying for a number of years in store it was set up again last year on a stone plinth in the garden of the Forrens on the Green Court side of the Cathedral where it can be seen by anyone who likes to walk through the old archway between No. 22 and No. 23 The Precincts.

A change has been made in the positioning of the Canterbury Cross Wall-stone and its accompanying list of cathedrals to which 92 similar Wall-Stones were sent after their dedication at the Empire Service in the Cathedral on June 15th, 1935.

For the past 8 years and more it has only been possible for interested cathedral visitors to read the list and stone inscription by obtaining permission to go behind the busy Cathedral Gifts sales counter situated in front of it. In its new position at the West End of the Nave on the South Wall (to the right of the large-scale plan of the cathedral) both Wall-Stone and list may be closely examined. It is appropriate, too, that in the new position, this stone, strengthening the bond between the Cathedral Church of Christ in Canterbury and her daughter Cathedrals in various parts of the world, should complement the Memorial plaque to Margaret Babington and other Friends of the Cathedral on the same wall to the left of the cathedral wall-plan.

CATHEDRAL APPEAL REPORT:

Fabric Restoration and Stained Glass Exhibition, New York.

The Surveyor to the fabric Mr. Peter Marsh has sent a report to the Chapter on the past year's work which records the completion of the work for surveying and cleaning the Quire and the task of dividing up the main roof of the Church into compartments which are fire resistant.

A careful survey of St. Michael's chapel has been made and the work will be undertaken in the next twelve months. Two cloister bays were restored last year and work has begun on another for completion this coming July. Some repairs have been done on both sides of the Trinity Chapel and the walls of St. Andrews Chapel and Treasury.

In the next twelve months further work will be done in the way of repairs to the South aisle of the Nave and also to the walls of the quire, windows and buttresses on the south side and the arcading at ground and crypt levels. Further work will be done on the ancient city wall facing St. Augustine's as well as the Great Dorter, Pentise and Cellerars Lodgings.

Mr. Frederick Cole, in charge of the Cathedral Glass Works, writes as follows

'In connection with the Appeal perhaps the most momentous occasion was the Exhibition of Canterbury Cathedral Stained Glass at the Steuben Galleries, 5th Avenue, New York. The decision to send the precious glass to America was only taken after much heart searching, for never before had the Canterbury Glass left the Cathedral and never before had so much Stained Glass been moved from one country to another. The risk seemed enormous but in the event not a single piece of glass was broken.

The whole operation was a model of co-ordinated planning between Canterbury and New York. Each selected panel was cased in Perspex and metal framed. Templates of the 47 separate panels were sent to New York where the exhibition frames and stands were being prepared. For safe carriage each panel was bedded in recessed 2 inch thick Hairlok and surrounded on all sides by a further 2 inch thickness, the whole calculated to withstand a 10g shock. The eighteen packing cases were specially made to the size required for each group of panels. Those alone cost £3,000 and were given free of charge by Export Packing Services of Sittingbourne as a contribution to the Appeal Fund.

Escorted by Mr. White and myself the consignment weighing 1½ tons was transported free of charge to Gatwick by Meadows Air Freight of London. Air Freight to and from New York was Mr. Freddie Laker's contribution to the Appeal Fund.

At the Steuben Galleries the glass and the exhibition stands came together for the first time and fitted perfectly. The panels were back lit and provided the only illumination within the



the Dean presenting a picture of the Cathedral by

Gallery. The effect of vivid concentrated colour within an otherwise darkened space was breathtaking. The preview and opening ceremony was held on 8th March, 1977 and was attended by many distinguished guests including:

The Hon. Gordon Booth — British Consul General

Mr. Joseph Conlin — U.S. Appeal Director

Mr. George W. Ball — U.S. Under Secretary of State

Mr. J. S. Buechner — President of Steuben Glass

Miss Sally Walker — Executive Vice-President of Steuben Glass.

The Exhibition was formally opened by Lord Astor of Hever, President of the International Appeal Fund. Over 5000 people visited it before it closed on 23rd April and brought to the Appeal Fund a net contribution of nearly 40,000 dollars including a special donation of \$25,000 by the Corning Glass Works Foundation.

The New York Exhibition was dismantled under my supervision and returned under an armed escort to the care of Mr. Freddie Laker. All the glass is now safely back in Canterbury.'

REVIEW — 1977 - 78

Friends will read with pleasure in this Chronicle the new feature, "Cathedral Notes and News", also the Dean's Christmas letter, Canon Hill's Friends' Day 1977 address, and Lord Clark's lecture, "Art and the Church" given in the Chapter House on September 24th to mark the 50-year Jubilee of the Friends' foundation.

These provide in themselves a great deal of the colour of events in our Jubilee year. However, Friends will also like to know that in addition to the special Tea before Lord Clark's lecture in late September, 100 or so local Friends enjoyed a snack supper with wine on October 1st in the upstairs area of the Water Tower, which is not normally open to visitors. Following this they moved to reserved seats in the Nave for an exciting presentation by The Elizabethans of a morality pageant play c. 1400 re-titled "Rex Vivus". "Rex Vivus" in new translation has been performed of recent years in several English churches and cathedrals, but nowhere can its reception have been more enthusiastic than in Canterbury.

More usual events were Friends' Day on June 18th and Youth Day on June 24th. For the latter we had contributions from a number of schools based on the theme, "Proclaiming the Christian Faith Today", and the Water Tower Garden was again the site for a joyful barbecue. Friends' Day had its Jubilee address by Canon Hill from the Nave pulpit, a setting which for some must have recalled pleasurably the Margaret Babington era. There was luncheon for rather too many wishing to be present in the limited space of St. Augustine's dining room, kindly loaned by the King's School, and many more were present at tea in the Chapter House. An historic and long chapter in the Friends' history was virtually closed in the early afternoon of June 19th with the Dedication in the Great Cloister of the Friends' Jubilee Bay. For little short of 50 years the Great Cloister restoration has been almost exclusively the Friends' financial responsibility. It was therefore a special pleasure to know that with dedication of our Jubilee Bay only two or three Bays remain to be restored and that for these restorations funds are already in hand. The cost of restoring the Jubilee Bay at £10,300 was a great shock, but such a high sum at least means that *all* members have made a contribution to this work. A highly successful finale to Friends' Day 1977 was Allan Wicks' presentation in the Nave of Handel's Four Coronation Anthems, with the Cathedral Choir and the Canterbury Festival Orchestra.

Changes in the membership of the Friends' Council will be noted, happily for no cause other than normal retirement and election of nominated replacements. Members who study the Accounts accompanying the Chronicle will be pleased to note the

substantial increases in both subscriptions and donations income at 30th September last. Costs went up too, but last year we more than out-paced inflation, and this was largely due to the doubling and more of normal new membership intake by volunteer members of the Friends working daily at the new Friends' desk in the South West transept of the Cathedral. We fell short of the three-fold membership increase hoped for a year ago, but there is reasonable excuse for this disappointment in the postponement until Friends' Day 1978 of the public launching of a new membership drive.

Finally, it is not amiss to refer in gratitude once more to the constancy of many older Friends' love for the Cathedral. This is remarkable and continues to reveal itself in many ways; among them legacies large and small. In this coming year we are likely to receive between £15,000 and £20,000 from legacies, and it is this thoughtfulness which has made practicable the gift of some £50,000 which the Friends hope to complete before the end of this year towards the establishment of a future Pilgrimage Centre. Such a project is traditionally wholly in accord with the Cathedral's past history and must, it is felt, commend itself highly to all members of the Friends.

DEATHS OF FRIENDS

*Recorded with reverence and honour following notifications
received between March 1st, 1977—February 28th, 1978*

Andrews, Miss A.
Austin, Miss M. S.
Balmforth, The Revd. Canon H.
Bird, Mr. W. H.
Bligh, Mrs. M.
Bond, Mr. W. C.
Bowen, The Revd. Canon H. O.
Boyle, The Hon. Mrs. A.
Bullard, Mr. G. D. M.
Clarke, Mr. F.
Clements, Miss C. H.
Cobb, Mrs. P. M.
Collard, Miss A. M.
Hunt-Cooke, Dr. R.
Fennell, The Revd. G. W. P.
Ferris, Mr. R. E.
Few, Mrs. S. R.
Frampton, Miss C. V.
Garrard, Miss C. M.
Gilmour, Lady V.
Golder, Miss A.
Greisheim, Miss H.
Hubble, Mrs. S.
Jarrett, Mr. E. J.
Jones, Miss F. C.
Taylor-Jones, Miss M.
Kirby, Dr. A. H. M.
Kreuger, Miss S.
Langton, Miss E. M.
Maltby, Miss J.
Maynard, Lt.-Col. H. A.
Miskin, Miss V. C.
Monypenny, Mrs. S. H.
Osborne, Miss D. M.
Parr, Mrs. G. T.
Parry, Miss K. M.
Patey, Mr. D. H.
Preller, Miss G.
Pembry, Mr. A. E.
Perry, Miss S. N.
Prescott, Miss N.
Radford, Miss V.
Richardson, Miss E. M.
Rouse, Mrs. M.
Scaife, Mr. A. J.

Deaths of Friends continued:

Simmons, The Revd. W. H.
Smail, Mrs. J. G.
Smith, Miss E. D.
Smith, The Revd. Canon H. T.
Soloman, Mrs. D. B.
Spicer, Mrs. J. S.
Stanger, Miss M.
Thomas, Mrs. E. V.
Todd, Mr. R.
Walker, Mr. J. S.
Walter, The Revd. C. A. R.
Watton, Miss V. J.
Williamson, Mrs. C. E.
Wright, Mr. J. L. S.
Wright, Mrs. M. I.

DRY BONES COME ALIVE

An address delivered by the Canon Vice-Chairman on June 18th, 1977 at Evensong in the Cathedral Nave on the occasion of the Jubilee of the Friends of the Cathedral.

Long ago in the dark centuries before the coming of Christ the prophet Ezekiel, carried by the Spirit of the Lord into a valley full of bones, heard the voice of the Lord God asking 'Can these dry bones live?'. And then before his astonished eyes the divine breath infused life into the dry bones and they stood up upon their feet an exceeding great army'.

Any time in the first quarter of this present century a percipient observer of life in the Church of England might have gazed at the cathedrals of our land (including the great Church of Canterbury) and asked that same question 'Can these dry bones live?' and it would have been an optimistic man or woman who would have given an affirmative answer. For these mighty temples, raised to the glory of God in the 'ages of faith', seemed to have lost their identity, their reason for existence, in the centuries that followed the Reformation. Deprived of their shrines, their chapels empty and unfurnished, their pilgrimages ended, reduced in staffs and little visited except by those interested in antiquarian pursuits, they appeared, in the midst of a national church awaking with every decade into vigorous life, to be like some great prehistoric monsters surviving into centuries in which they had no longer any place.

Served usually by devoted priests, their daily services dutifully sung by professional choirs for the benefit of small congregations they awoke to life occasionally for some special diocesan function . . . the enthronement of a new bishop or dean, or a small oratorio service . . . and then fell placidly asleep again.

Now if our intelligent observer happened to have a romantic turn of mind and a taste for poetic fairy tales he might have ascended St. Thomas' hill and looking down on the Cathedral below have likened it to the Sleeping Beauty slumbering in the midst of a pleasant old world city until the day when some heroic prince would come lovingly to awaken her. In the providence of God that day came in the spring of 1924 (appropriately enough, on the Feast of St. Benedict) when young and ardent priest, Dr. George Kennedy Allan Bell, was installed as Dean of Canterbury and under God became the dynamic force which was to awaken very speedily to splendid life this great Cathedral and to cause to spring to life from the dry bones of the past the mighty army of the Friends of the Cathedral.

Those of us who have been Friends from the very beginning cannot think of this Jubilee of our association as anything but an occasion of the deepest thanksgiving for the way in which, through

George Bell, Margaret Babington and many others living and departed, the wind of the Spirit has blown through this place so that everything that has been touched by it has come to life. For it is no disparagement of those who served this place faithfully and well . . . deans and canons, organists, singing men and boys, vergers and bedesmen and the like . . . in the days before the great revival came, to say that it was in those exciting years from 1924 to 1939 that once again this Cathedral and many others began to discover their true function in twentieth century religion . . . to be welcoming and hospitable places, patrons of the arts of drama and music, enriched with fine examples of modern craftsmanship, their services day by day attracting more worshippers as dignified ceremonial and beautiful music of all periods returned to places made for such things and long deprived of them. It was in the autumn of 1927 that the Friends came into being and from that time to this have been a mighty company of enthusiastic and generous folk, knit together in common love for this holy and beautiful church.

If there be any who wish to trace the history of the Friends from their foundation to the present day let him or her read through the long line of reports or chronicles on the shelves of the Cathedral Library and other public places and there find unfolded the exhilarating story how the dry bones began to come to life with chapels refurnished, the Cloister vault recoloured, tombs cleaned and repaired, wall paintings restored, religious plays commissioned and great festivals of music and drama organised and carried through. How providential that this revival of life and devotion should have come when it did. Just in time . . . even the prophetic vision of Dean Bell can hardly have foreseen or even guessed that so soon the day would come when Cathedrals would again be magnets drawing to themselves all sorts and conditions of people, that innumerable books would be written about them and eagerly bought and read, that television would proclaim their beauties and wonders to multitudes who would once have known nothing of this, that aeroplanes, hovercraft, motor car and coach would bring those same multitudes in their thousands to such a cathedral as this day by day throughout the year.

But so it is—and now the Cathedral Church of Christ in Canterbury is host to half the world and his wife and through its doors constantly stream a throng which must make the proprietors of ‘stately homes’ green with envy.

As we end a half century of marvellous work, the Friends of the Cathedral, may well recall some words of our Queen spoken in Westminster Hall a few weeks ago ‘A Jubilee is a time for looking forward as well as back’.

So what of the next fifty years? What is the function of the Friends to be?

And how can we best use the cathedral for the greater glory of God and the work of His Church? Some think of it as a fascinating museum of mediaeval art and architecture to be preserved at all costs for cultural reasons . . . for others it is a handsome concert hall . . . and for others still it is a place enjoyable to visit and contemplate. And these reasons, though not unworthy, are just not good enough for any true Friend, for such must be also the friends of God and for them this place is His Holy Temple and must always be thought of as such. Years ago, a schoolboy present at the enthronement of Dr. Lang as Archbishop, I noted with interest a striking phrase in the Bidding Prayer used on that occasion before the sermon in which intercession was offered for all workers for Christ's Kingdom 'whether ministering to the faithful or evangelising the ignorant'.

It is for these purposes that this mighty church exists bringing joy and strength and comfort by its beauty and majesty to all Christ's faithful people so that they can go back to their homes and parishes uplifted and refreshed by the vision of God they experience here. But here, too, the ignorant, the unbeliever, the atheist and agnostic should be met and challenged and made to wonder whether perhaps there is not a living God whose presence here seems to some of us all-pervasive. Napoleon on entering the cathedral at Chartres is supposed to have said 'An atheist would feel uneasy here', and a Cathedral should make that kind of impression on all who come. But it will only be true to its great opportunities as an evangelistic influence unparalleled in its power over men's minds and spirits if it is supported by a great company of Friends who pray daily for the work done here and earnestly hope and strive for the salvation of souls through beauty and atmosphere.

Those who care to go up to our Quire and look at the high vault (now beautifully cleaned, and free after many months from scaffolding) will see in the centre of the crossing, floating like some bright star overhead the oldest and finest early Gothic boss in this land depicting the Paschal Lamb with the triumphal banner of the Resurrection born aloft . . . set there at the heart of the building (immediately over the lectern from which daily God's Word is read), as a passionate proclamation of the centrality of the resurrection of Jesus Christ to our gospel. Here men must find the vision of a faith lived and preached and made plain, and this is what as Friends we should be seeking to do . . . to turn every tourist who comes here into a pilgrim from whom a visit to CANTERBURY is the beginning of a new relationship to Our Lord Jesus Christ.

If the world in which we celebrate our Golden Jubilee seems to many of us a very different one to that in which the Friends first came into being . . . if the Church's task seems harder both in

ministering to the faithful and evangelising the ignorant . . . at least the dry bones have come to life in many places and the Church is very much more the living Body of Christ than it has been for centuries past.

So we must give ourselves in absolute commitment to the very special work of Christ only a Cathedral can do . . . supplying through our money offerings, where possible, the physical needs of the place, enriching its stones with the warmth of our love and service; offering all we can as individuals in the many ways which the life of a Cathedral allows and indeed demands. May I end by quoting a prayer written many years ago by a member of our Chapter, Dr. A. J. Mason, and still said daily by all members of the Greater Chapter; a prayer which many Friends may like to make their own

O God, Who has graciously united us in a goodly fellowship, we pray for our brethren and for the Cathedral Church of Canterbury; that in the holy house of our Most Blessed Saviour comeliness of worship, preaching of the Faith, and holiness of living may always abound, and may everywhere be spread abroad from thence through Jesus Christ Our Lord. Amen.

DEREK INGRAM HILL

A CHRISTMAS LETTER TO THE CONGREGATION OF CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL

1977

THE DEAN WRITES

To believe that God became man at Christmas is to assert that the whole of human existence is his concern, and the concern of his Church. Our Cathedral is a sign of his faith. Recently the editor of the R.C. journal *The Tablet* put into words the hopes that many of us profoundly share and constantly keep before us. And we are thankful that something of which he speaks is already being fulfilled here.

“A Cathedral is a place where the sacral element of life and its gratuitous quality finds sanctuary, a place of prayer, offering the possibility of solitude, and also a place for congregation, for massive reunion. Cathedrals really need no defence or explanation because they have always been instinctive manifestations of faith. All over Britain they stand as a perennial challenge to the purely utilitarian outlook. It is a test of our national character that we should wish to see them preserved and not simply as sublime works of art, but as great reservoirs of prayer, central places for contemplation. We should like to see the Cathedrals in this country taking the lead in bridging the gulfs and gaps and divisions between Christians.

Our ancient Cathedrals are in the care and custody of the established Church, but the time is coming to see them as the principal places of reconciliation, offering hospitality and exchanges of all kinds.”

It is in the light of this vision that, I am sure, we shall have to solve also the biggest problems that face us — the maintenance of the Cathedral “as a sublime work of art” and the impact of the multitudes that visit us, who can so easily spoil for each other, just because they are so many, the impact of what they have come to see. The two problems can, I believe, help to solve each other, if we can succeed in showing the hundreds of thousands as they come that the Cathedral belongs to them. If we just “charged them for entry”, it would be as if we were selling them something. But it is theirs already, even if they do not yet realise it, and our task is to help them to enter more deeply into our common heritage, in order that each one may take some responsibility for handing it on to future generations.

This is the first of what I hope may be a regular Newsletter. We would welcome your comments. It gives me personally and all at the Deanery an opportunity of wishing you a Happy Christmas and every blessing in the New year.

VICTOR DE WAAL

THE LIBRARY AND ARCHIVE

Scholarship has been associated with the Cathedral from its earliest years. Augustine brought books when he came to Canterbury in 597 and in 668 Archbishop Theodore of Tarsus, a Greek, and a very learned man, made it a centre of study which is looked on as the first university in the western world. There were no monks here then, but regular canons, and they and others were drawn together at Canterbury to read and study Latin and Greek texts under Theodore and his friend, Abbot Hadrian of St. Augustine's Abbey. Nothing of this survives, since the Cathedral suffered considerably at the hands of the Danes, but from 1070 there was a library of Canterbury and there was also an archive.

Through various vicissitudes, the library and archive grew, always in use, always being added to, until today there are around 50,000 books and millions of records. The most flourishing period in the life of the library here was from 1660-1860. Again there were learned canons associated with Canterbury and the Oxford Colleges, who had replaced the monks of earlier years, and, moreover, they had time to write. They needed books for study and these they purchased for their library in enormous numbers during the period. They also accepted gifts of books large and small from people all over the world the including the Czar of all Russias, so that their library was unrivalled in its content for so small a place.

The tradition of scholarship continues, though now on new premises rebuilt after the last war, The library is open by appointment to scholars and others who wish to study the books and archives housed here. The books range in date from 1470 to the present day and although they are predominantly theological, this is not a merely theological library. There are also herbals, early newspapers, periodicals such as the *Edinburgh Review*, *Gentleman's Magazine*, *Annual Review*, books on birds with illustrations of surprising beauty, history books and an unrivalled collection of books written in the 18th Century on travel and exploration in undiscovered and unknown areas of the world which were then exciting attention, including Captain Cook's *Voyages* and works on China and the Arctic. And as well as the Library, there are also the archives, for gathered here now are the archives of the Dean and Chapter from 742 — present, those for the City from 1390 — present, and those for the Diocese from c. 1300 - 1900. Together they make a very representative archive for Canterbury throughout its history, and it is most appropriate that they should be here, where they can be studied alongside the books in the library. It is rare today that books and archives remain where they have always been, and we can be happy that a centre of scholarship begun over 1300 years ago is still in being and flourishing on the same spot.

Now the library is to be further enriched. We have long wished to make the library more easily available to research workers, and we have recently received a grant from the British Library Board

towards the cataloguing of the books published before 1801. This has enabled us to appoint two cataloguers, who will begin their work in the spring of next year. It is hoped that the work will be completed in about two years. We have received great assistance in the whole of this project from two friends in the University of Kent, Mr. W. Simpson, the University Librarian, and Mr. David Shaw, Lecturer in French and a keen bibliographer.

CANON A. M. ALLCHIN

OUTSTANDING EVENTS IN 1978

The interesting discovery by one of the senior masters of the King's School that the High Altar of St. Augustine's Abbey was dedicated by St. Dunstan on May 26 978 A.D. has inspired the Chapter and the King's School to plan a four day festival to mark the occasion. The Festival will have a special Benedictine flavour, with several lectures on May 25-27 by eminent scholars, a great Festival Eucharist for the Kings School in the ruins of the Abbey of St. Augustine on his feast day (May 26), at which the Archbishop of Canterbury will preach, Festival Evensong in the Cathedral at 3.15 p.m. on May 27, at which members of the Community of Bec will sing, as well as the men of the Cathedral Choir. On Sunday May 28 Cathedral Evensong will be sung simply at 6.30 p.m. and at 3.15 p.m. Latin Vespers according to the use of the Benedictine Order will be sung to plain-song in the Cathedral Choir by members of Benedictine communities, Anglican and Roman, from all over the British Isles and Northern Europe. The preacher on this unique occasion, which will conclude the Festival, will be His Eminence the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster, sometime Abbot of Ampleforth. A special exhibition relating to the life of Benedictine communities today, as well as in the more remote past, will take place in the Chapter House for a fortnight or so leading up to the Festival. The organisation of this is in the hands of Mr. Colin Dudley of Christ Church College.

Just two months later the Lambeth Conference will open with a great service in the Cathedral on the morning of Sunday, July 23. This service will have a special African flavour, the celebrant being Archbishop Sepeku of Tanzania, using the liturgy of his Province and the preacher will be the Archbishop of Canterbury. For the next three weeks the Bishops attending the Conference will be in session daily at the University of Kent (a special conference for Bishops' wives who wish to attend taking place from August 5 to 13 at Christ Church College). The Conference will end with an English Eucharist in the Cathedral on the morning of August 13. From August 3 to 16 the daily and Sunday services will be sung by a choir from the RSCM summer course. It is hoped that the Conference will be preceded by a special day of celebration arranged by the Canterbury Christian Council on July 22 and that there will be a garden party at the end of the sessions on August 12 for all concerned.

CANON D. I. HILL

A SERMON CONCERNING MAGNA CARTA

Preached in Canterbury Cathedral on 19th June, 1977 by The Reverend Canon S. H. Evans, Dean of King's College, London

Through all the variables of human history there runs one constant necessity — the necessity to restrain princes. As a form of words “restraint of princes” has for us an old-fashioned sound. But the struggle the phrase points to is a persistent struggle within human society in all places and at all times. The power game is of all the games we humans play the one that is potentially the most dangerous. “Restraint of princes”, then, is a way of speaking about the need for constant vigilance and appropriate legislation to prevent power from being used to the hurt and harm of individuals and institutions. One for ever unfinished task of true men of law is to secure justice for individuals and social groups when these are faced with the power of the state. I call this an ever unfinished task. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the assembly of the United Nations in December 1948 after our war with the Nazis is sufficient indication that even if *Magna Carta* was drawn as long ago as the year 1215, the problems with which it dealt are in essence problems which are constant in the course of the long march of everyman from the cave to the desired city of our dreams.

If some of you today are thinking that it's an odd sort of antiquarian picnic to be celebrating *Magna Carta* in 1977, I shall hope to convince you of its relevance as a topic at a time when influential persons are beginning to ask seriously whether we would not be better able to safeguard freedom under the law today in Britain if we had a new Bill of Rights. To this proposal we will return.

First we must ask: “What was Magna Carta?” and “why should a service in Canterbury Cathedral be thought an appropriate manner and place for its recalling?” To answer the second question first — the appropriateness of Canterbury and the Cathedral. Archbishop Stephen Langton was almost certainly the most significant mediator and moderator between King John and the barons in the course of the civil war and the negotiations for a settlement that issued in the great charter of 1215.

Restraining princes, ecclesiastical princes no less than secular princes, was a continuing exercise among men of good will during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. On this occasion the protagonists were the King and those who stood with him on the one side; and on the other a group of disaffected barons led by Eustace de Vesci and supported both by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the merchants of London led by their mayor, William Harel. King John's failure to win the support of the Londoners was the source of his final undoing. His grant of a charter to the citizens of London in May 1215 was appeasement offered too late: though by that charter the mayoralty of the Lord Mayor of London was established.

Archbishop Stephen Langton supported the claims of the barons without abandoning the King. Together with other bishops, earls and justiciars he moved to and fro across the middle ground as go-between and mediator. And all the time beyond the English channel was that very considerable international statesman Innocent, the third of that name to occupy the chair of St. Peter in Rome. Innocent, despite his name, was a potentate of immense vitality, force, range and grasp. Had Innocent's will prevailed there would have been no *Magna Carta*.

But even Innocent III suffered the minor irritations of postal delays. When you reflect that the passage of letters from London to Rome took at least thirty days each way, you won't be surprised that events in England happened faster than the Pope's advice could travel across Europe. Innocent's interventions were frequently out of date and out of touch: nor was he best pleased to learn too late that crucial decisions had been made in advance of his advising! Stephen Langton, the Archbishop, earned papal censure for no worse offence than that of acting before the next post had arrived. He would have been in a worse predicament had the post arrived sooner conveying the Pope's order that the Archbishop should excommunicate the rebel barons. In the event it was Stephen Langton who merited the hero's garland.

Such was the primitive machinery of communication with which men of goodwill strove for solutions in a situation not unfamiliar to ourselves as we today explore ways of administering a secular rather than an ecclesiastical European community. Mr. Roy Jenkins could appropriately select Archbishop Stephen Langton as the subject of his next biography!

The crisis that precipitated King John's submission was a matter of 45 days: on May 5th 1215 the barons withdrew their homage and fealty to the crown: on June 19th "in the meadow that is called 'Runnymede'" baronial fealty and homage to the crown were renewed.

What happened and why it happened precisely then was the result of a confluence of two streams of human endeavour. One was the steadily flowing stream of the increasing maturity of European political theory and practice: the other was the torrent in full spate of this particular English political crisis. And if you ask what finally opened the floodgates of the English political crisis, as a non-historian I can offer an over-simplified answer — 'excessive taxation for the King's wars and the harsh penalties exacted for non-payment'!

But what was and what is *Magna Carta*. It's a legal document superbly penned, of which four copies of the original survive: one in the Cathedral Library at Lincoln: one similarly housed at Salisbury and two in London of which one was probably the copy sent to the Cinque Ports.

But what is this legal document all about? If you read the actual text you will certainly be surprised. You can find the text most readily in both a Latin and an English version in the detailed and definitive study of the whole episode by Professor J. C. Holt. What you might expect in *Magna Carta* is a flourish of high-sounding sentences about freedom, rights and justice. In fact you will find few flourishes, little theory, but a list of down to earth practical restraints and promises. If you expected a Bill of Rights, what you will discover is a detailed programme designed to curtail the less acceptable extensions of King John's royal interference. To Lord Denning's selection of clauses let me add a few more:

8. No widow shall be compelled to marry so long as she wishes to live without a husband.
33. All fish-weirs shall be completely removed from the Thames and the Medway and throughout all England except on the sea coast.
39. No free man shall be taken or imprisoned or disseised or outlawed or exiled or in any way ruined, nor will we go or send against him, except by the lawful judgement of his peers or by the law of the land.
45. We will not make justices, constables, sheriffs or bailiffs who do not know the law of the land and mean to observe it well.
63. Wherefore we will and firmly command that the English Church shall be free, and the men in our realm shall have and hold all the aforesaid liberties, rights and concessions well and peacefully, freely and quietly, fully and completely for them and their heirs of us and our heirs in all things and places for ever.

Magna Carta was a landmark in our journey as a nation towards greater political maturity and freedom by the better balancing of powers. It was a landmark *because it was written down and because it was widely publicised*. Exalting principle by embodying principle in practical safeguards, it further strengthened the early development of a method now well proved of furthering justice by common law. The essentially practical character of the Charter gave it flexibility enabling adaptation to changing circumstances. In 1215 *Magna Carta* was a failure. Intended as a peace, in the event it provoked war. But with the death of the King, the revisions of 1216, 1217 and 1225 produced a document that has passed into the law of the land: nine of its chapters still stand on the English Statute Book. In 1215 the Charter embodied a revolutionary programme of concessions, squeezed out of the King under considerable threat: the revisions of 1217 and 1225 were statements of law worked out in cooler hours. The powers of barons were put under restraint as well as the powers of the King.

This process of revision enables us to interpret the real significance of *Magna Carta* as a stage in a continuing process towards political maturity by restraint of princes, rather than as a new development of startling originality rising out of the particular crisis of 1215. Professor Powicke comments in his biography of Stephen Langton:

“That its programme was so moderate, so firmly grounded in fact, and so enduring, is of itself enough to show that it was the outcome of long deliberation, not solely concocted in haste or passion, but derived from saner counsels”.

(Oxford 1928 p.128)

Professor Holt would seem to be encouraging a similar conclusion when he writes:

“The Charter pulled together the work of the twelfth century. It was less adequate as a foundation on which the thirteenth could build”.

(Cambridge 1969 p.200)

In subsequent years new documents were needed to deal with new situations: a completely new set of ordinances was published in 1311.

When we move on to ask who were the persons most influential in drawing up the provisions of the Charter, we can't fail to see the ecclesiastical influence of Innocent III, of Archbishop Stephen Langton and others. But the ecclesiastical lobby was of “a limited, almost guarded nature”. What the Charter of 1215 and its revisions really reflects is the gathering strength in England of the law and the precise thinking of legal and administrative minds. The revision of 1217 shows a marked trend towards more exact legal definition.

The barons may have precipitated the King's submission: but it was the King who made the oral promises at Runnymede and the King's lawyers and administrators who drew up the actual charter. Barons have greater dexterity with the sword than with the pen: and churchmen while active in broadening the demands and in easing negotiations towards a settlement, showed themselves sensitive to the distinction between the spiritual and the secular realms.

Magna Carta was a strictly limited achievement. It dealt only with matters at issue between the King and his tenants in chief. The barons regarded themselves as the political community. Large numbers of Englishmen were not free and would have derived no benefit from the famous clause 39. What has changed since 1215 is the broadening of the political community and a growing concern for all individuals in the state and for the rights of all individuals over against the state.

What then of ourselves? The need today is not so much the restraint of princes as the restraint of executives. Interviews by the state for the securing of what we call “welfare” bring about more confrontations between the power of the state and the individual than was usual even a hundred years ago. We are

beginning to see that the rule of law has to be invoked to secure justice to individuals who in our complex society depend more and more on the state for their welfare. Ironically our modern concern about rights produces new possibilities of wrongs. It's a feature of our times that human beings the world over are coming to regard social and economic rights as no less fundamental than civil and political rights. One sentence from the American Declaration of Independence has taken hold of all our minds. "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness". "The pursuit of happiness" was not an articulated issue at Runnymede. It is now. But a mere declaration of human rights will secure little benefit for human beings unless provisions are embodied in the law and practice of nations.

What then should we do? There are two procedures — thought by some to be contradictory, by others to be complementary. We can declare the social, economic, civil and political rights of men in a Bill of Rights. We can without a Bill of Rights go on doing what we've always done — incorporate human rights into law by the normal process of legislation and judicial decision. There are those who are saying that the second process is no longer adequate: we need, they say, to formulate a body of general principles as a curb on the powers that be and as guidelines to those who make law. If you ask what it is that makes the idea of a Bill of Rights attractive to several distinguished legal minds I can best reply by allowing one of them to speak for himself. Sir Leslie Scarman gave to a recent lecture in the University of London its conclusion:

"Human rights are those rights which governments must respect and must protect if they are to remain lawful governments. A Bill of Rights can declare so that all may know, what those rights are. A Bill of Rights can mobilise public opinion and judicial action to protect them. But a Bill of Rights is no substitute for a detailed law protecting and fulfilling the rights of man. The welfare state is an attempt to fulfil the social and economic rights of man but its fulfilment requires not only the money and the administration of the state but judicial action to secure justice for the individual. And so the ultimate legal problem of our generation is I suggest to reconcile our civil and political rights with our social and economic rights. The risk to our generation is that by asking and getting the massive assistance of the state in the pursuit of happiness we sacrifice in the process freedom and justice. If that should happen the last state of man would be worse than the first."

Mutatis mutandis the issues of Runnymede 1215, of the Bill of Rights 1689, of the French Declaration 1789, of the American Bill of Rights 1791, of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights

Rights 1948, of the European Convention of Human Rights 1961, all these issues continue to reverberate.

One final question. What part is being played in our modern Runnymedes by the Innocents and the Langtons of our day? What is the role of the Church in man's long search for more genuine freedom under the law? What is there for the secular realm to receive from the spiritual?

During the past century there have issued from the Vatican a series of impressive encyclicals on matters of social and economic justice and welfare. Between the major declarations of *Rerum Novarum* in 1891 and *Gaudium et Spes* in 1965 there has been a sequence of more particular studies of human need and human injustice. Churches in Britain have published a number of well-researched studies of aspects of human relationships calling for changes in law and social practice if justice is to be done. Later this year, for example, the Anglican *Board for Social Responsibility* will publish the results of a long and careful study of *Prisons and Prisoners*. Such documents percolate within the Christian communities and play a not insignificant part in educating opinion.

And from all the communities of Christians there come men and women who believe that the only value their lives can have is the value they have for others, men and women who give themselves to work among the disadvantaged, the disabled, the homeless, the refugees, the political prisoners of our troubled twentieth century. This human work of reconciliation and caring goes on, hidden for the most part, rarely in the news. In several parts of the world Christians have been the leaders of protest against the tyranny of men who abuse power, demonstrating for civil rights. But never enough, never enough men and women, never enough protest, never enough compassion. And yet, if in this century of unparalleled violence we look for symbols of hope, the names that cheer our drooping spirits are such names as Martin Luther King, Dietrich Bonhoeffer, Mother Teresa.

A Bill of Rights would at best be only a partial solution of human problems: even when embodied in actual laws justice would not have been achieved. I'm reminded of the petition placed in the *Book of Common Prayer* of 1662 at the end of the Ten Commandments. "Lord, have mercy upon us and write all these thy laws in our hearts we beseech thee: " not, you notice, "in our minds"; not "on pieces of paper or parchment"; but "*in our hearts*".

The language of human rights could create among us only a greater selfishness, a more self-centred preoccupation with our own self interest. The value and validity of using language about human rights lies in its power to disturb our complacency and direct our attention away from ourselves to situations where other people are deprived, exploited, denied what is due to them as human persons. But neither a Bill of Rights nor legislation based on it

will guarantee "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," unless there are enough men and women who have these concerns burning in their hearts.

What our Christianity affirms is that our duty to love our neighbour springs out of and is sustained by our primary duty to love God. The concentration camps and gas chambers of this century have shouted out so loud that all but the deliberately deaf must hear: "Where there is no God, there is no man". The primary task for Christians remains what it has always been, to persuade men and women that the ground of our obligation to treat our fellow-man as our brother is the fact that he like ourselves is loved by God. If men and women are to be so persuaded, then our immediate and continuing task is this:

to make our Christianity *visible* so that people can see it as an authentic way of living:

to make our Christianity *intelligible* so that people who catch the vision can assure themselves that what they see is not a mirage:

to make our Christianity *desirable* by drawing out those generous impulses in humanity which it is meant to satisfy.

And this task is far more complex, far more urgent and demanding than the task Stephen Langton fulfilled at Runnymede — a task that requires action from us all.

ART AND THE CHURCH

Text of a lecture given by Lord Clark of Saltwood in the Chapter House on 24th September, '77 on an occasion marking the 50th Jubilee of The Friends of the Cathedral.

A layman must hesitate to talk on any subject concerned with the Church in such a place and in such company as this. May I apologise in advance for any heretical opinions which, either through ignorance or an evil disposition, I may pronounce. And amongst these perhaps I should include the basic assumption of my whole talk, which is that the art of our own day used in the service of the Church has lost much of its power to move us either as lovers of art or as Christians. It is, I suppose, true that the blue and white images of the Virgin, sold outside Catholic churches, may fan, very gently, the flame of devotion — a thin and wavering flame, with no furnace of thought behind it, but a flame nonetheless. But this is something entirely different from the intellectual assent and participation with which Christian art was received by the finest minds from the fourth to the seventeenth centuries.

What do we feel about the greater part of modern Christian art? Either that it is artistically an anachronism, bearing no relation to the living art of our time; or that it is self-consciously arty, bearing no relation to the needs of worshippers. The first is what we feel about ordinary church furnishings, choir stalls, altar cloths and commercial stained glass; the second what we feel in most cases when some donor persuades a church council to let a 'real' artist have a try at ecclesiastical work. Of these two forms of disappointment, I usually prefer the first.

The Gothic revival in its later stages produced two artists of real distinction, William Morris and Burne-Jones, who used their art in the decoration of churches. They drew their inspiration from English glass of the fifteenth century, and evolved a style which was delicate and refined. In small churches and chapels, such as Manchester College at Oxford, their stained glass windows create a moving unity of style; but their work was archaistic and in no way related to the most vital artistic movements of the time. This late Gothic revival lacked the often ruthless energy of the earlier Gothic revivalists, such as Butterfield, but it remained the best form of church decoration, and had the merit that the parts are subordinate to the intention of the whole. They may be feeble, but they avoid self-assertion. It is even possible for anachronistic religious art to achieve a living beauty of its own, as it does in the finest work of Sir Ninian Comper or in Bentley's Westminster Cathedral, where perfect sympathy with the style of the past is united with a devoted study of the liturgy. Even in its ordinary, mass-produced form, anachronistic church art does not greatly harm the ancient buildings in which it is placed, although it may deaden their impact. I sympathise with any church council which is more inclined to tread this safe familiar road than to strike out into the controversial wilderness of modern art.

And yet we must all feel in our hearts that to follow this line of least resistance is unworthy of our faith. Christian art, like Christian thought, must employ our faculties to their fullest extent. We should try to surpass the convenient second-rate. Every time we add something to our churches — let alone to a great cathedral — we must think of the words in which the builders of the Middle Ages, like the Abbot Suger, described their ‘determination’ that everything done for the glory of God should be the finest and most splendid which the mind of man could devise or his hand execute.

There is a further reason, peculiar to our own day, why the decorations of our churches should have a strong appeal to lovers of art, and that is the almost religious character with which art has been invested during the last hundred years. I am not suggesting that religious emotion and aesthetic emotion are the same thing, Mr. T. S. Eliot regarded this as one of the most insidious of all modern heresies. But the fact remains that from Shelley onwards many of the finest minds have thought of art in almost the same terms as their forefathers had thought of religion. When Matisse, who of all men seemed to be committed to a hedonist aesthetic, was asked what he felt about decorating the Chapel of Vence, he replied “In my own way I have always sung the Glory of God and His Creation. I have not changed.” The nineteenth century gave currency to the phrase ‘the religion of beauty’, and although this would have seemed, at a time when faith was stronger, to embody a most odious heresy — indeed to be, theologically speaking, complete nonsense, one must admit that in the century of materialism, when the light of the spirit burnt very low, it was faith in art which, more than anything else, kept that light from total extinction. Of course, the Church has always admitted that beauty is a divine attribute; it happens that this is the attribute through which divinity can reach many of us to-day who are impervious to other appeals. A jealous God, or a God of Victories, has no great meaning to us, But a God of Beauty has. For this reason it seems to me all important to make the attempt which is being made so courageously in France by the Dominicans, to bring once more into relation with one another the needs of the Church and the living art of our time.

It will not be easy. It cannot be had for the asking. The Church cannot simply hire an artist to execute the kind of subject which the Council thinks desirable (and this in practice means the kind of subject which was established in the fifteenth century), not because artists have become faithless and perverse, but because the whole intention of modern art has changed. Although philosophically speaking the intention of art may always have been the same, its immediate aims have differed very greatly at different epochs; and religious art itself has had different manifestations, and has achieved its effect by different means. If we are to use contemporary art, we must look for points at which these aims coincide. It is no good supposing that an artist will change his endowments — both his personal endowments and the common endowments of

the time — when he enters the service of the Church. How shall I classify art — historically the subject matter of Christian, and indeed of all religious art? First of all, anecdote — the retelling of the sacred stories in such a way as to make them comprehensible and memorable to the faithful. The portals of our great cathedrals are covered with the story of Christianity — many of you will have read Ruskin's *Bible of Amiens*, which describes so movingly one of the greatest of these sequences. Even in the mid-nineteenth century Gilbert Scott attempted to do the same on the north portal of Westminster Abbey, with considerable success. In fact I have often watched visitors to Westminster Abbey, who of course took these reliefs to be mediaeval, looking at them with veneration. Anecdote is also the subject of much of the stained glass at Chartres, and Canterbury, where the story of St. Thomas Becket is told in such detail that even the guide books get muddled. I could add the frescoes of Giotto, the tapestry cartoon of Raphael, the Passion woodcuts of Dürer, and some of the finest drawings of Rembrandt. One step away from anecdote is *allegory*. I use the word loosely to cover such a subject as the *Last Judgment* or Raphael's *Disputa*: I do not mean that the *Last Judgment* will never take place, but that when Michaelangelo painted it he did not intend a forecast of what it would probably look like (an anecdote) but a visible manifestation of a supreme spiritual experience. I need not remind you how great a part of mediaeval art — in stained glass and in sculpture — takes this form, and is dependent for its success on the allegorising faculty. Allegory leads us on to *symbolic personification*. Under this term I include not only personified ideas, such as *Ecclesia* and *Fortitudo*, but also representations of the saints, which, after all, do not claim to be portraits, but to embody certain virtues. It is surprising, when you come to look at it, how much religious art consists in symbolic personification. At certain periods Bhuddist art is practically nothing else (only in its early phase is it anecdotal). The greatest windows of Chartres are of personifications, and so, of course, is most of the sculpture on north and south portals. It was the form of religious art which lent itself most readily to decoration. Personifications are the great subject of Baroque art, where it often became stereotyped; and many volumes were published showing in what way the artist should represent certain virtues and qualities. On account of this decorative function personifications spread to architecture of all kinds. Justice, Commerce, Hygeia — what would architects before 1914 have done without them?

Personified figures usually carry attributes by which they can be recognised, and this leads me to the last manifestation of religious art, the *symbol*; for example, the Fish, the Lamb the Crown of Thorns.

So there are our four means of communication in the religious art of the past: anecdote, allegory, personification and symbol. Let us see how they are related to the artistic aims and endowments of the present. I think we may agree that this is not an age in which

artists excel in narration — or shall we say in dramatic representation. The heart went out of this kind of painting over a century ago, and in spite of all the fine talk about historical painting in Reynolds's Discourses or Haydon's Autobiography, or the House of Lords debates on the decoration of the Palace of Westminster, the fact was that painters could not do it because they had no real desire to do it. What they really wanted to do was to make a direct record of a visual experience, and so it was landscapes and not anecdotes which inspired the best pictures of the nineteenth century. The only great painter of historical scenes was Delacroix, and he was also the only great religious painter of the century. Now, Delacroix was an unbeliever — in fact he was a profoundly sceptical and pessimistic man — but he recognised the reality of spiritual struggle and made it the subject of his finest work. For this reason he often drew his subjects from the Bible — in particular those episodes where the life of the spirit seems only just to survive in its struggle with the forces of darkness. I would go so far as to say that Delacroix's series of paintings of Christ on the Lake of Galilee or the Crucifixion are the last religious pictures in European art which can be called great in the same tone of voice that we use in applying the word to Poussin or Tintoretto. And for this I think there are two reasons; first that Delacroix was capable of executing imaginative painting — he was an illustrator who could carry out his ideas on a large scale; and secondly that he was a man of powerful, philosophic mind. At certain periods, when the tradition of iconography is universally acceptable, religious art can be achieved by a humble and sincere conformity with established models. But this was no longer the case in the nineteenth century, when the tradition of iconography was feeble and debased. The whole meaning of Christian subject matter had to be thought out afresh. Only a man of high intelligence could do this, and then only from a strictly personal point of view. We realise the immense difficulty of the situation when we see Delacroix's great rival, Ingres, with all his unrivalled skill as a draughtsman, producing pitifully banal pictures which seem to anticipate all that is feeblest and most sentimental in modern Catholic art, simply from the lack of intellectual power.

The quality of mind, the philosophic structure, in Christian art has always been greater than is sometimes supposed, far greater than in Hindu or Buddhist art. This is the quality which surprises and subdues us in the stained glass of Chartres no less than in the *Sacraments* of Poussin — if indeed we ever take the trouble to try to follow it. We have grown so used to the sensational absorption of art that we don't expect to make an intellectual effort. Even the Sistine Ceiling, as obviously the embodiment of a philosophy as the Divine Comedy itself, was till recently regarded as being no more than a display of artistic skill.

But in mentioning the Sistine Ceiling I have already passed from anecdote to what I have called allegory and personification. And here, alas, we reach another major obstacle to the union of

contemporary art and the Church. For various reasons the modern mind is entirely without the allegorising faculty. Men have ceased to think symbolically. Almost the last great *English* writer to do so was Ruskin, and it made much of his later writing incomprehensible to his contemporaries. One reason is, I suppose, that as more and more people could read, it became less necessary to appeal to them through images. The shop sign, to take the crudest instance, ceased to be there for information, and so ultimately ceased to be there for decoration either. There was no point in putting up a group symbolising Australia when one could learn all about Australia from books, films and those colossal Christmas numbers of illustrated papers which used to be an annual embarrassment to those of us who have relations in the Antipodes. As for virtues, vices, arts, sciences, and other abstract concepts, it is hard for us to believe that people ever tried seriously to interpret the figures which symbolised them; but in fact they did, and there was a steady sale for books in which they were explained. They were illustrated by hundreds of engravings, depicting charming little ladies who were supposed to personify Industry, Gratitude, Glory and even Gluttony. To-day every one of these symbolic personifications is forgotten, except, perhaps, Justice, with bandaged eyes and scales, and learned men like Emile Male and Professor Panofsky have to interpret what was common knowledge as late as the eighteenth century.

Now the fact that our thoughts no longer take an allegorical or symbolic form is a disaster for all forms of decorative art. What is one going to put on a public building if one cannot use with confidence some kind of personification? To put figures which are just shapes is to place too great a responsibility on the artist, because unless they are masterpieces of sculpture, they have no justification and soon look superfluous. In fact it is almost impossible for a sculptor to do good work where it is not needed. Henry Moore always refuses. And if this is true of secular buildings, where it may be presumed that decoration, not instruction, is the chief object, how much more true is it of religious buildings where the works of art must have a significance beyond decoration.

As a means of conveying truth the allegory has a peculiar value. The very irrationality which led to its disappearance in the age of measurement makes it the best possible means of communicating some of the mysteries of our faith. Allegory brings together in a single image concepts which cannot be combined logically, but which nonetheless have a fructifying relationship with one another. An obvious example is the analogical use of Old Testament episodes in reference to the New Testament. The rational mind may find it absurd to relate the sublime truths of Our Lord's life and teaching to episodes in the early history of a rather primitive tribe; yet this was one of the chief vehicles of mediaeval instruction, whether through the word or the eye; and to this day if one takes the trouble to follow these great constructions of analogy and allegory in the windows of Chartres, le Mans or our

own Cathedral, one's feeling for the truths they illustrate will be strengthened and enriched.

In addition to our lack of intellectual assent, and to some extent dependent on it, is our incapacity to find convincing imagery. The iconographical tradition of Christian art has, of course, long ago been lost, and to use it is to accept what I have already referred to as anachronistic art. But when we try to think out afresh the scenes of Christian legend, how vapid and artificial they become. I confess to a weakness for Rosetti's *Annunciation*, but it has had no sequel.

One even shrinks from the religious images of Maurice Denis, whose pictures are to be found appropriately placed in many French churches. Yet Maurice Denis was an able painter, living at the centre of art in a period of great painting — and was, of course, a fervent believer. He should have been the Claudel or the Péguy of painting: but the near impossibility of imagining a new iconography defeated him.

Finally we come to the *symbol*, and here at least we reach a point at which the needs of religious art and of the modern spirit can hope to touch one another. The recoil from realism, which took place in the 1890's, was in the main a symbolist movement. It is true that the movement never found expression in painting of the same force as it did in literature. Gauguin is the only symbolist painter who can rank with Rimbaud, and Odilon Redon is the equivalent of the minor symbolist poets. It is remarkable that both of them painted religious subjects. But if there have been few professed symbolists in the visual arts, the whole trend of modern painting has been to teach people to see objects — or shapes, even — with a sense of the overtones of their meaning. We do not think symbolically, but we have learnt to see symbolically. We no longer look at the things represented in pictures for the information they give us as we identify them, but for the secondary meaning, which reaches us almost unconsciously and is often stronger than the first. This is in keeping with the intuitive character of recent aesthetic philosophy. Allegory is an intellectual process, involving research and interpretation. A symbol should affect us immediately by touching some unconscious memory.

Symbols can be personal or communal; the symbols in Rimbaud are often so personal as to be almost meaningless, but the most effective personal symbols — Mr. Yeat's tower, for example — have some appeal to the collective unconscious, and so give us the feeling of significance even before we recognise them. The symbols of religious art should ideally be communal and recognisable to a larger extent than those of the poets. They will have different degrees of vividness for us, depending on how they are related to the spirit of the time, and also to the changing background of theology. Consider the three examples I mentioned earlier: the Fish, the Lamb, the Crown of Thorns. The Fish was without doubt the chief symbol of early Christianity, but it means nothing to us to-day — indeed I suppose that only a few people would recognise

it as a Christian symbol at all. That (amongst other reasons) is because the early Church placed all its emphasis on the Resurrection — the Crucifixion is practically excluded from early Christian art — and the story of Jonah and the Whale, an archetype of the Resurrection, was constantly in men's minds. A change of theological emphasis has resulted in that symbol becoming meaningless. With the Crown of Thorns the position is reversed. It is not known in the early Church, and is unimportant in the Middle Ages; but in the times of religious disquiet which preceded the Reformation it became extremely important. It was one of the chief Christian symbols of a distracted age. Now it is understandable that when a modern artist looks for a Christian symbol he does not choose the Fish or the Lamb, but rather that symbol which can convey some of the anguish of concentration camps and all the other horrors which entered our consciousness from about 1936 onwards.

So symbols can be the material of modern religious art. They are something which modern painting can cope with. But they must not be too esoteric or remote from those experiences to which, after all, our spiritual life must inevitably be related. I would say, however, that if they are strongly felt by the artist they can afford to be relatively obscure to the spectator. Religion after all is founded on mysteries, and there are many passages in Christian literature which are not easily interpreted. In the best of the new Coventry windows and in Leger's windows at Audincourt the symbols could scarcely be interpreted without a key, and yet we feel that they have had a meaning for the artist, and that the windows are not only decorative, but significant.

This reference to Coventry and Audincourt leads me on from theory to practice, and I will conclude by a short survey of what has actually been achieved. The attempt was first made by the Dominican order in France. It was in 1937 that the Père Contwrier began work on the church at Assy, which although not in itself completely successful, has been the inspiration of subsequent efforts, both in France and here in England. Père Contwrier held the belief which I have mentioned earlier that the creation of a fine work of art was itself a religious act and that he was therefore free to employ artists of any shade of belief, provided they were the best artists. In fact he employed the agnostic Matisse, the fervently Catholic Rouault, and Leger who was an active member of the Communist party. If Assy is not a success, it is because he tried to do too much. It became a sort of gallery of modern art, and if Audincourt is as successful as it appears to be, (I have not seen it) that is because the glass is entirely the work of Leger, and so has a simplicity and unity of purpose. Leger has taken as his subject the instruments of the Passion, the wounds of Christ and the Tree of Life. They have become, in effect, what we call 'abstract pictures', but in many ways they are more beautiful than those abstract designs by Leger which had their origin in machines and concepts of modern life, and one can have no doubt that Leger,

whatever his beliefs, has been touched by the meaning of these symbols.

The greatest painter of this century to undertake religious art was Henri-Matisse, in the Chapel at Vence. It incorporates many lessons which those who are about to use modern art in the service of the Church would do well to consider. First of all, Matisse, although not a believer, was in daily conversation with the priest who was responsible for the building, and discussed with him many questions of liturgy and ceremonial. This seems to me of great importance. A work of Christian art should not be slapped down in a church as if it were a picture gallery. In fact I would go so far as to say that a fresh and thoughtful study of the liturgy, undertaken in conversation with a priest, would be far the most valuable contribution to religious art which a modern painter could undertake. Secondly, the Chapel at Vence gains its effect from its perfect unity of style. Everything it contains, and everything used in celebrating the Mass, has been thought about by Matisse over a long period, and designed and redesigned with infinite care. And lastly, in spite of the strong colour of the windows, the effect is extremely simple, even meagre, and we are inclined to ask 'Was so much expert cooking really necessary in order to produce this thin little wafer?' The answer is 'Yes, it was necessary' As I said before, the recreation of a genuine modern religious art is extremely difficult. The ways parted too long ago. The forces of corruption are strong and insidious, often disguising themselves as good taste.

Finally I come to the two efforts that have been made in this country to use art in the service of the Church. I refer, of course, to the work of Walter Hussey as Rector of St. Matthews, Northampton, and as Dean of Chichester; and to the extensive and variable display of talent to be found in the new Coventry Cathedral. Walter Hussey had no doubt that Henry Moore was the greatest English sculptor and Benjamin Britten the greatest composer. This seems like an obvious conclusion to-day, but it wasn't quite so obvious in 1952, when Hussey commissioned Henry Moore to do a life-size Virgin and Child (influenced in his choice of subject by Moore's drawings of mothers and children sheltering in the Tubes), and Britten to write an anthem. Henry Moore was an agnostic, but Walter Hussey, with his matchless powers of persuasion (he even persuaded Madame Flagstadt, at the height of her fame, to come down to sing the *Liebestodt* at St. Matthews), and had no difficulty in persuading Moore that the Virgin and Child must be thought of in rather a different way to a woman in a tube shelter. The result is the figure that will be familiar to most of you — noble, human and compassionate — the first piece of sculpture by a great artist to be installed in an English church since the time of Flaxman. I had the honour of unveiling this figure, and was glad to see that the congregation, who had been apprehensive, were very largely won over. The Bishop, however, preached a sermon about a cricket match.

A year later Walter Hussey commissioned the most distinguished English painter in the contemporary style, Graham Sutherland, to paint a large picture of the Crucifixion. This was a longer shot than the Moore Madonna, because at the time Sutherland was known almost exclusively as a landscape painter, usually on a small scale. It was an inspiration, and resulted in what I am inclined to think is Sutherland's finest painting. These two works are now a source of pride to all members of the congregation. Hussey's contributions to Chichester Cathedral, although wholly admirable, are not as astonishing. The Piper tapestry is an effective, but slightly *conventional*, work in certain details. The Dean of a Cathedral has to cope with many more conflicting interests. And this leads me to the point, rather depressing in our present context, that the triumphs at Northampton had nothing to do with the feeling of the congregation for art, but were due simply to the imaginative generosity of one individual art lover. In a sense they were the culminating points in Hussey's own excellent private collection. The decoration of Coventry Cathedral — years later — had more the character of a communal exercise, although much influenced by the architect Basil Spence. Perhaps for this reason they lack some of the distinction of the works commissioned by Walter Hussey. The big Sutherland tapestry lacks the intensity of his Crucifixion at Northampton. John Piper's window is a brilliant piece of profane decoration. Only some of the stained glass windows, especially those of Geoffrey Clark, seem worthy of a great new Cathedral. I may add that stained glass, because it can be a way of bringing colour to the architecture, and is not dependent on anecdote, seems to me to have succeeded more often than any other form of contemporary Church art — I need mention only Lurcat and John Piper.

Coventry Cathedral was a brave try. It has proved extremely popular. There is something in it for everyone. But in the end it is little more than an exhibition gallery. It lacks the unity of one superintending mind, dedicated to Christianity, and we do not feel behind it the support of a popular need.

I believe that most of the great mediaeval churches were to a large extent the creations of individuals — either patrons like Suger or individual master masons like William of Sens or William the Englishman, here at Canterbury, or Yevele — working for Archbishop Courtenay. But they were able to achieve their great results because they were confident that they had behind them the popular will. They worked for the glory of God and the edification of the faithful — the two were inseparable. Can we imagine a similar state of affairs obtaining in our own day? I do not like to close a lecture on a negative note, but I am afraid the answer must be 'no'.

A LOST CORNER OF THE CATHEDRAL PRECINCTS AT CANTERBURY : TWO TINTED DRAWINGS OF 1683 IN THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY

The great quadrant of ground lying around Canterbury Cathedral falls into two divisions, the Ville of the Archbishop's Palace, and the Ville of Christ Church. While the galaxy of buildings in the latter has been the subject of attention by antiquaries from Somner and Battely onwards, the vast and important structures standing or previously standing within the former have been badly neglected. The whole group forming one of the great residences of medieval England, offers a fruitful field of study to a specialist in architectural history.

Briefly, the Archbishop's Palace enters history in Domesday Book as the *nova hospitatio archiepiscopi*. It enjoys many mentions in the narratives recounting the murder of Archbishop Becket, from which it may be judged that it consisted of a vast hall running east-west, with subsidiary buildings such as the kitchen at the west (close to Palace Street), a gatehouse, evidently on the site of the present Parker classrooms of the King's School, with miscellaneous shelters for attendants. Private rooms such as the Archbishop's bedchamber lay at the east end of the hall.

The great hall and other structures were rebuilt in the years c. 1200 onwards at enormous expense. Traces of the rebuilding still remain, such as the battered but splendid bay adjacent to the great porch close to the present Shirley Hall of the King's School and embodied into Walpole House.¹ In the course of the middle ages a new domestic wing was thrown out southwards from the hall reaching as far as the present entrance gate to the Palace. Much of this wing still remains in use, and (at the southern end) in ruins.

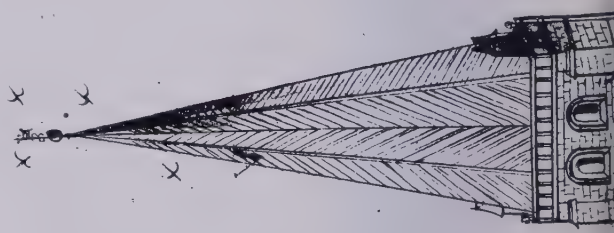
There was a tragic fire at the Palace in 1544 when Archbishop Cranmer's brother-in-law perished in the flames. Archbishop Matthew Parker coming to the See in 1559 set about a scheme for restoring archiepiscopal residences including that of Canterbury, where he is said to have expended as much as £1406 15s. 4d., an enormous sum for the day.² The red-brick work surviving at Canterbury is usually attributed to him, such as the facing at the back of the Parker classrooms off Palace Street, the old kitchen block further south (near Walpole House), and the southern face of the Palace near the Cloister, where indeed a large stone slab bearing Parker's arms and the date 1563 proclaims his authorship. Certainly repairs and restorations were sufficiently far advanced by 1573 to make it possible for the Archbishop to contemplate reception of exalted guests, such as Queen Elizabeth and leading courtiers, like Essex, Burghley and Christopher Hatton.³

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The Ground Plan of the West end,
of part of Christ Church

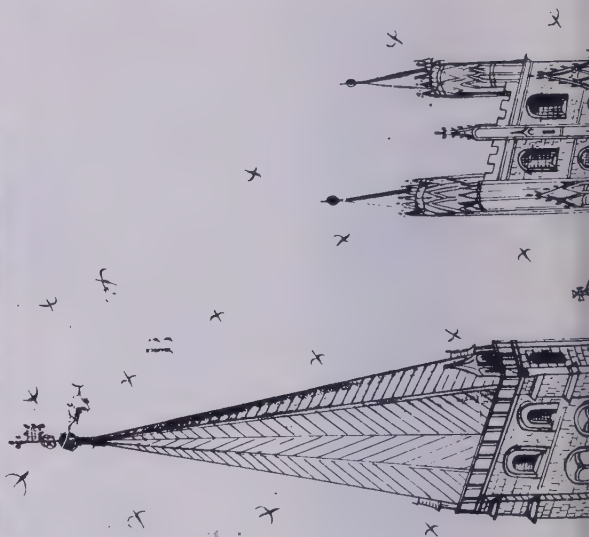


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The Prospect of part of ^{the} Metropolitane
Church of Canterbury: 1683.





A group of papers preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford throws some valuable light upon Archbishop Parker's building activities at the Palace. The group is in effect the in-file of William Sancroft, Archbishop from 1677 until his deposition following refusal to take the oath to King William III after the Revolution of 1688. The papers cover all manner of business, diocesan and national, such as would fall to an Archbishop.⁴ As the Palace at Canterbury was uninhabitable, owing to irreparable damage effected during the Civil War, much of the diocesan and other local business was dealt with in letters to and from Lambeth, Canon George Thorpe acting as a principal contact for His Grace.⁵

By now the site of the Palace was in the hands of various lessees, including at the southern end of the site (close to the north-west tower of the Cathedral), a Mr. Stanton at the west, and to the east Benjamin Agar, who had taken up a lease of a small dwelling being part of the ancient Palace, immediately below the north-west tower, still equipped at this date (c. 1680) with its vast leaden spire (taken down after dislocation in the great storm of November 1703. Benjamin Agar had let the small dwelling with a yard at a rent of £4 *per annum* to one Robert Sampson a tailor, probably to be identified with the man of the same name at this date a Lay Clerk in the Cathedral Choir.⁶

Late in the middle ages a high, handsome, embattled wall had been built abutting onto the middle of the western side of the Cathedral's north-west tower, running westwards across the front of the Archbishop's Palace into the present site of the Chapter works-yard. The wall was of fine and massive construction, reaching to a height of well over 30 feet, judged from its appearance in prints in relation to the Cathedral, and from the section shown in the splendid water-colour drawing of 1799 by James Malton in the possession of the King's School. Archbishop Parker had evidently extensively repaired the wall, and at least felt justified in adding to it a shield of his arms, upon a great gable shown in the Bodleian drawings.

There had once been a commodious gateway through this façade wide enough for a coach to go through. Benjamin Agar and his tenant the tailor had been making alterations in this area, and the tailor had intruded another floor into his house to make himself a workroom, and had lowered the ceiling of the passage, and constricted its breadth at the same time.

Today there is access to the Cathedral Cloister around the tower, but it seems that in the 1680s there was no such way round, and that anyone wanting to reach the Green Court had either to circumnavigate the great church by the east end, or pass across the interior through the south-west door and so out through the doorway in the second bay in the north side of the Nave, thereby contributing to the din and gossip so often spoken of in connection with cathedral naves in earlier times, of which of course St. Paul's at London offered the worst example.⁷ At Canterbury there must have been added traffic as crowds came away surging through the

Cloister from the sermons held regularly in the Chapter House, then called the Sermon House.

By 1683 the Dean and Chapter, no doubt provoked by the building activities of the tailor Robert Sampson, decided to make a proper, exterior way round the north-west tower and so to the Cloister. They could do nothing of course without authorisation from Archbishop Sancroft, since his territory was involved, and to make clear the scheme to him, the two tinted drawings were prepared and sent off to London on Tuesday, 15 March, 1684, one depicting the front, and one the back. The Archbishop not only consented to the new scheme, but generously offered to pay demolition and building expenses and to buy out the interests of Benjamin Agar and his tenant, which alone were assessed at £60, then no mean sum.

The story of the alterations can be traced in considerable detail in a series of notes, estimates, diagrams and letters despatched to the Archbishop by Canon Thorpe from late in 1683 and through 1684. It was evidently decided to remove the tailor's house entirely, but dangers arose as the work went ahead and it was found that the building, especially the high embattled wall at the front acted as a buttres to the rickety north-west tower, which had been cut into to a depth of half a foot or more to make more room in the tailor's house. The chimneys there offered an extra stabilising factor, so it was discovered. Another difficulty was the very sharp drop in ground level (as we know today) between the west end of the Cathedral and the Cloister floor, necessitating introduction of steps.

Familiar troubles are recorded. Skilled labour could not be obtained, and there was absenteeism, especially at harvest time in 1684 when labourers evidently found that they could make more money out in the fields. Materials were in short supply, and slow in coming when ordered. However, it seems that by the end of that year the work was substantially complete. The tailor's house and shop had gone, and a way had been made across his yard into the Cloister. The embattled wall had been left, though a doorway had been pierced through it to give access to the new route.

The drawings provide a fascinating vision of this corner of the Precincts and go a long way to solving some of the topographical puzzles which have long bemused local antiquaries. It must be confessed of course that these drawing are scarcely masterpieces of contemporary art, being carried out with much naïveté and a wholesale want of any grasp of perspective. They are demonstrably inaccurate in some respects. For example while the tailor's house had a depth running from half-way across the north-west tower (where the façade abutted upon it), to a point some few feet beyond the northern side of it, the drawings both at back and front make it start from the same corner of the tower, rendering the dwelling wafer thin, a fault remarked upon by Canon Thorpe in a letter to the Archbishop.

The drawings display the great battlemented frontage dominated by the huge gable bearing Archbishop Parker's arms, all crowned by Tudor chimneys. Some other lost architectural features may be pointed out. There is a dwelling house with two gables to be seen in the left foreground, which may be the early building demolished c. 1930 flanking the garden where the present Chapter Office was built some few years ago. Behind the house is a one-storey Gothic building with battlements and a two-light window, evidently the 'little low tower of stone, with battlements', mentioned by William Gostling, against which a barber's shop had been built in his day (apparently that same barber's shop into which was born in 1762 Charles Abbott, later Baron Tenterden, Lord Chief Justice of the Realm of England).³

A feature of singular interest is the tall crenellated turret standing at the left, or western end of the range, clearly predating Parker's work. The round-headed windows point to Norman construction, but caution must prevail for the surviving Gothic doors and windows in the Cathedral are likewise depicted. The tower at any rate must be some 50 or 60 feet in height. Its purpose is unclear. Could it have been a watchtower for the Palace, parallel to the tower equipped with a fireplace standing above the monastic buildings today over the Dark Entry? The tower is shown in the drawing with five storeys, the angles hipped back at the fourth to provide an octagon at the summit. There is no trace at all today of this tower, unless there are some foundations beneath the Chapter Yard.⁹

The back view from the north in the other drawing shows the tailor's house to the left with his yard, and to the right the house of Mr. Stanton. It may be noted that at the bottom of the drawing is an indication of footings of walls each with a double angle as if there were some continuity with the north-south wing of the Palace, mentioned above. It is hard to be quite certain of the precise location of the house, or how it was conjoined with the still-standing ruins (such as the great block of rubble just within the gateway to the Palace today). Excavation would be needed to make sure of the site.

The two drawings go a long way to clarify some of the remarks in William Gostling's charming *Walk in and about the City of Canterbury*. One of his strolls takes the reader along the old palace ground from Palace Street through 'a strong and high wall, embattled, which once cut off communication between the palace and the church-yard, till a door was broken through it in the last century'. Gostling also speaks of 'a lofty house, opposite to the west door of the cloyster, built or repaired by Archbishop Parker, as appears by his arms on the south side of it towards Christ Church gate, as well as in some places within doors'. Now this of course cannot be other than Mr. Stanton's house, depicted in the drawings, and must in Gostling's day have been the residence of the humorous individual, who, according to Gostling, was wont to date his letters 'from my palace at Canterbury'.¹⁰

The southern reaches of the Palace can be observed in a series of engravings published early in the 19th century, William Woolnoth provides a view drawn by Thomas Hastings and engraved by himself, taken in 1816 from the north-west, evidently from a point just within the palace wall opposite Turnagain Lane.¹¹ This shows what is clearly Mr. Stanton's house, now in a very decrepit condition. Details given show that the building must be pre-Parkerian and that the Archbishop had provided part of a southern facing (the gable?), though from Gostling's language it may be inferred that some interior decoration had been effected, incorporating Parker's arms. Yet it is quite clear that the bulk of the building was medieval and embodied interesting features, such as the entrance upon the western side with its moulded archway. It is clear moreover from the drawings of 1684 that there was early work in the building. The mullioned windows shown at the front and back might indeed date from 1565 (the date on the frontage), but the traceried lights shown in the back view must be older, and likewise the quatrefoil in the back gable, shown circular in the drawing and square-shaped in Woolnoth.

The illustration by Henry Gastineau in volume I of W. H. Ireland's *Kent* (1828) provides a view of the same building, far gone in decay, likewise taken from the north-west. The vast gable probably erected by Parker seems by now to have been hipped back, confirmed by views available from the front.¹²

Glimpses of the frontage which have hitherto proved somewhat exasperating in the sense that they showed something of topographical importance only partly intelligible, occur in engravings of the Cathedral made from the region of Christ Church Gate. John Buckler's magnificent lithograph of 1804 shows a short stretch of the embattled wall abutting onto the north-west tower, still with at least three crenellations, and with the door made in 1684 through the site of the tailor's house. Charles Wild's engraving of 1807 seems to show the doorway, but foliage obscures most of the view in this corner.¹³ John Coney's prospect of 1816 is much more valuable and shows Mr. Stanton's dwelling now mutated into an 18th century town house with sashed windows and trim front entrance reached by a flight of steps flanked by railings. The great gable has been hipped back, agreeing with Gastineau's drawing. A bay window projects between two buttresses. Curiously enough, one of three storeys shown in the drawings of 1684 has disappeared. Only two crenellations now survive. The drawing by John Chessell Buckler (son of John Buckler) of 1821 is in general agreement with that of Coney, A view by L. L. Razé of 1824 (a puerile effort, done before that artist had learnt the principles of perspective), shows that there were now two bay windows, and gives the impression (though the view is obscured by foliage) that the gable has gone altogether.¹⁴ The view by Thomas Sidney Cooper (another immature effort, dating from the late 1820s) shows two surviving battlements, one buttress and the doorway through to the Cloister.¹⁵

In 1832 work was started on demolition of the north-west tower of the Cathedral. This has been continuously deplored and described as unnecessary. However the large scale drawing among the collections of the Society of Antiquaries shows that the structure was in the very last stages of decay, with mortar gone and stones displaced. The drawing suggests imminent collapse. There is no further evidence for the survival of the battlemented frontage to the Palace, and the numerous views of the new tower suggest that the wall, no longer serving any purpose as a buttress, must have been torn down with the old tower which it supported. It seems likely that Mr. Stanton's house, 16th century in part at the front, and medieval behind, must have gone at the same time, a sad loss as the engravings show that it embodied very interesting medieval features.

It is strongly emphasized that the notes above do not by a long way exhaust the materials in the Bodleian Library. As suggested above, a fruitful field of investigation is available. Is there not some young researcher looking for a subject ready to take up the distinguished story of the Archbishop's Palace at Canterbury, on the lines of Mr. H. M. Colvin's studies of the King's Works, where indeed it may be shown that the monarchs were not above copying details from Canterbury?

WILLIAM URRY

Reference Notes to A Lost Corner of the Cathedral Precincts at Canterbury

- 1 See illustration in *Archaeologia Cantiana*, XLIII, opp. p. 300.
- 2 Battely; *Cantuaria Sacra* (1703), App. X, e. See *Correspondence of M. Parker* (Parker Society, 1853), p. xiii.
- 3 Parker, *Correspondence*, ut supra, no. CCCXXXVI (17 August 1573).
- 4 The tinted drawings (with caption) are to be found in Bodley Lib., Tanner MSS. cxxiii, 22, 23, 24. I have not provided references to each of the individual documents as they can readily be identified by a future historian of the palace complex. The various letters, estimates, etc. will be found in Tanner MSS., xxxiii, 198, 202, 223, 227, 228, 239, 240; cxxiii, 74-80; cxxvi, 66. There is valuable material relating to the topography of Canterbury among the Tanner MSS., e.g. records of local almshouses, and their buildings, such as the account of the destruction of the ancient dormitory of St. John's Hospital, Northgate (1682). See printed Index to Tanner MSS.
- 5 George Thorpe, Canon in the 5th stall (Le Neve, *Fasti*, I (1854), p. 52.
- 6 Chapter Archives, Accts., Treasurer, 1685, etc. Benjamin Agar 'senior' had stood as bondsman for marriage licence when Sampson (described as widower) married Ann Chaffer of the Archbishop's Palace Precinct in 1676. (Cowper, *Canterbury Marriage Licences*, IV, col. 404).
- 7 There is evidence that the Canterbury Nave was used as a place for gossip and noise, added to by the fact that financial transactions were carried out at the flat-topped tomb of Archbishop Islip in the second bay from the east on the north side. Cf. W. Urry. Introduction to Somner: *Canterbury* (new edition, 1977), p. xv, citing Kennett: *Life of Mr. Somner*.
- 8 Gostling, ed. 2 (1777), p. 134. For Abbott, L. C. J., see D.N.B. and G. Gilbert: *Reminiscences*, ed. J. Shirley (1938), p. 15. The covered way, so useful in this rainy and windy corner, and spoken of with some feeling by Gostling, may not have dated from early times when the Archbishop resided in the Palace, but seems to have been part of the scheme of 1684.
- 9 The tower is remarkably like the corner turret of Ethelbert's tower at St. Augustine's Abbey, as seen in prints.
- 10 Gostling ed. 2, pp. 130, 131.
- 11 W. Woolnoth. *Metropolitcal Cathedral Church of Canterbury* (1816), plate opp. p. 51.
- 12 Ireland, I, opp. p. 182.
- 13 C. Wild. *Twelves Perspective Views . . . of . . . Church of Canterbury* (1807), opp. p. 6.
- 14 L. L. Razé was drawing teacher at the King's School. See Woodruff and Cape: *King's School*, pp. 196-7.
- 15 The Royal Museum, Canterbury, possesses a set of these engravings. I am grateful to the Curator, Mr. K. Reedie, for producing them for my use.
- 16 The modern Archbishop's Palace, which incorporates a good deal of early work, dates from the archiepiscopate of Dr. F. Temple (1897/1902).

The South Prospect of the Cathedral and
Metropolitan Christ Church of Canterbury



*Ecclesiæ Cathedralis et Metropolitane
Christi Cantuariensis, facies australis,*

The Wenceslas Hollar view, first published 1656.

PRINTS OF CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL

Measurements, indicating approximately the size of the picture excluding inscriptions, are given in inches, height first.

The most important early printed view of the cathedral (Braun and Hogenberg's sixteenth-century pictorial map of the city gives only a token rendering of the cathedral) is the engraving after Thomas Johnson of the south view by Wenceslas Hollar ($7\frac{1}{4} \times 13\frac{1}{2}$) one of the greatest names in the history of English engraving, first published in 1656 in a collection called *The Cathedral and Conventual Churches of England and Wales Orthographically Delineated*, and also used to illustrate the early editions of Dugdale's *Monasticon*. It is undoubtedly one of the finest views of the cathedral, emphasising the enormous length of the building riding like a great ship over the gently undulating ground beneath its long lead roof; the pinnacles of Bell Harry and the south-west tower, and the Arundel steeple, crowned by a cock weather-vane, crisply silhouetted against a blank white sky; and the edge-faces of the buttresses, splaying away to each side in accordance with perspective, highlighted against their shadowed side-faces, with dramatic effect. This view is the same as, and probably inspired, many similar views, large and small, all through the eighteenth century, including the slightly dull plate engraved by James Cole ($11\frac{3}{4} \times 17$) in John Dart's *The History and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of Canterbury* (1726) (where the Arundel steeple is shown as removed) and the still larger prospect by James Collins of c. 1710-20 (16×28). This, though less finely or dramatically drawn than Hollar's print, is nevertheless a magnificent representation of the cathedral, and the faintly absurd, exaggeratedly ornamented copper-plate of its huge and pompous inscription — "The South Prospect of the Cathedral Church of Canterbury, Metropolitan of All England" — must endear it to many. Another view of the cathedral by Hollar is in his distant prospect of Canterbury from the north (7×22).

Appearing in the same collection as Hollar's south prospect is the highly memorable and striking composition of Thomas Johnson's axial west view, engraved by Daniel King. In this view the centre of vision is about the apex of the west window, or half the total height of Bell Harry — in other words, as if looking from a raised vantage point, much, in fact, as one might see it through a telescopic lens from near the foot of Harbledown hill. This gives the total composition of crowding towers piling into a pyramid a kind of hovering quality which turns the image into a formal, abstracted graphic symbol. A drawing of the same view is used with the same effect on some modern cathedral publications. A slightly larger version of it engraved by I. Kip (well known for his semi-aerial perspectives of country seats) and dated 1703 ($14\frac{1}{2} \times 10\frac{3}{4}$) appears with a reprint of Hollar's south prospect, in the second edition of William Somner's *The Antiquities of Canterbury* (1703).

The corresponding view of James Collins (17 x 23) is taken from 40 yards or so to the right of the axis, so that, as well as the the west front end on, we see an oblique view of the length of the side of the cathedral. The perspective is indeed strained, and Bell Harry becomes very peculiarly reduced in the east-west dimension. Also the two south transepts are merged into one, and the Arundel tower appears as identical to the south-west tower, anticipating the alteration of the next century. In one version the tower is shown with its steeple: in the other it appears as a dotted outline with a note on the plate, "This Spire being decai'd was taken down in ye year 1704 and the Church rebuified". A romantic feature, which appears in many of the nineteenth-century south-west views, is the presence of rooks flying round the turrets of Bell Harry.

Here they appear adhering to the outline of the stonework, so that they look like swarms of bees instead of birds wheeling and circling. This anticipates the nineteenth-century views also in being called a south-west prospect, but is actually, as I have said, a view parallel to the axis, not, as the later prints, a view at 45° to the axis. It strikes me that the latter is the viewpoint which most romantically expresses the Gothic character of the building, while both the south prospects and the axial views from the west are viewpoints one would more readily employ in looking at a classical building, such as a Greek temple. It would be interesting to pursue this theme in research.

The first of the true south-west views known to me, and also one of the grandest, is John Buckler's aquatint of 1804 (17½ x 23½), one of an important series covering all the cathedrals and abbeys on which he worked between 1799 and 1851. This is anticipated however, by a large watercolour in the possession of the King's School by James Malton (died 1803) (brother of the famous Thomas Malton). It is very dark, with only Bell Harry illuminated by a westerly light. It shows a curious row of houses built into a heavily buttressed wall appearing to run west from the north-west corner of the Arundel tower. These appear also in Coney's similar view, and Razé's earliest one, both described below, and reappear in John Chessel Buckler's smaller engraved version of his father's picture (7 x 10), published in 1821, a copy of which is in the Beane Institute. The same view, close-hemmed and with oddly foreshortened perspective exaggerating the height of the south-west tower (9¾ x 11¾), is the first Charles Wild's *Twelve Perspective Views of the exterior and interior parts of the Metropolitan Church of Canterbury*, a superb collection of sepia aquatints published as a book in 1807.

John Coney's view of 1816 (10¾ x 14) is a somewhat lifeless but reasonably accurate engraving, very black and white, with an open texture of heavy engraved line, and was an illustration in the eight-volume edition of Dugdale, published 1817-30 and again in 1846.

The name of L. L. Razé looms very large in any account of Canterbury prints. He is said to have been trapped by Canterbury on his way from France to London, and was art master at the King's School for a long period. Razé's earliest view known to me, called "South View of Canterbury Cathedral", is a lithograph with a charmingly native quality assisted by some distortion of perspective, with which the inscription "Taken on the Spot by L. L. Razé, 1824" accords well (11 x 15). Razé's view of the nave, published the following year (see below) is equally amateur-looking, and both emphasise, by contrast with his later prints, how his talents as a draughtsman developed after he came to Canterbury. This view is printed by C. Hullmandel, the pioneer of lithography in Britain, like many other views of the cathedral and town about this time, including T. S. Cooper's series of lithographs of 1830.

The classical (and un-classical) south-western view has really arrived in a small lithograph in ochre and black by G. Hawkins after a drawing by Razé of 1838 (7½ x 10), printed like huge numbers of other early Victorian lithographs by "Day and Haghe, Lithographers to the Queen" (later appearing as "Day and Son"). The Arundel tower has just been "restored", of course, to make the classic view possible. This is a highly accomplished, pretty and atmospheric drawing, the late morning sun from the south-east highlighting the south-facing walls and casting the west faces and the sides of buttresses into shadow. The light chosen is also most skilfully used to highlight in the distance the inside of the "Cemetery Gate", and the picturesque qualities of the drawing are also enhanced by the little knots of figures, casting long shadows, dotted about the ground in front of the cathedral. Of course two minute figures (are they King's School boys?) are silhouetted against the highlight in the Cemetery Gate. Rooks wheel round the pinnacles in this print with great naturalism and romantic effect, unlike the "bees" of Collins or of some later lithographs.

Of about the same date, to judge by details of costume, but of less artistic quality and subtlety, is a slightly larger black and white lithograph (8½ x 12½) after G. H. Shepherd printed, presumably in France, by Lemerrier, Bernard, and published by Henry Ward, 8 Mercery Lane, Canterbury. The publisher also of Razé's 1824 view, and of T. S. Cooper's lithographs and indeed of a very large proportion of all prints of Canterbury in the first half of the nineteenth century.

In 1852 was published what is certainly the best and most magnificent view of Canterbury Cathedral ever produced, by G. Hawkins from a drawing by Razé of 1844 (18 x 25). Here the light is from the west-south-west, masked out of the foreground by the line of buildings leading in from the Christ Church Gate, but dramatically bathing the west face of the cathedral in light, most strongly in the lower parts. The placing of the knots of figures before the cathedral, either bathed in light or thrown up dark against lighted patches of ground beyond them, is most skilful and telling, and their disposition and spacing contribute to a feeling of

tremendous spaciousness and grandeur. The plate is "respectfully dedicated" to the Dean and Chapter by "their very humble and very obliged servant", Henry Russell, of Canterbury, the publisher.

The same view of the cathedral is given a quite different, dark and thunderous interpretation by Razé in another medium, a steel engraving by J. S. Whitehead (10 x 14) published by Henry Ward in 1850 (although a copy in the Beane Institute bears the imprint of a different publisher, "Thomas James, Cathedral Yard, Canterbury"). The light here is from the same angle, but the whole texture of the plate is thoroughly black and dark, and the sky is filled with dark clouds to the east and north. This plate bears a fine facsimile of Razé's signature.

There are two later renderings of this view by Vincent Brooks, London, after W. Harring, and published by A. Ginder, St. George's Hall, Canterbury, one in 1860 (15 x 22) and the other undated (8½ x 13), both lithographs printed in two colours, black and ochre. Examples of the larger print are in the Beane Institute and the Kent County Archives at Maidstone. This picture is lit by a south-east sun, and rooks crowd round Bell Harry. The scene before the cathedral is highly animated, verging on the literary, with many ladies in crinolines and gentlemen in top hats, schoolboys in mortarboards with books under their arms, etc. The architectural drawing is somewhat less deft than Razé's, these views being characterised by the bulbous enlargement of the pinnacles of Bell Harry.

The final print to my knowledge in the mainstream series of grand south-west views before the advent of photography or the etching revival is a double-page picture in the *Illustrated London News*, 21 July 1875, after a drawing by S. Read (12½ x 20). Despite the limitations of the medium, which gives the print something of the austere quality that the Coney south-west view has, this is also an imposing and altogether worthy image of the great cathedral.

Probably antecedent to any of these south-west views, but not falling into a group with them since it is a distant view, is a dark stipple engraving (14½ x 18) of about 1780-1800 by Gaugain after Mitain, showing a group of reapers at work in the right foreground, with, to the left, rustic rocks surmounted by trees à la Claude in the best picturesque tradition (but with apparent disregard for topographical accuracy). A rainbow descends onto the south-west transept. Similarly subservient to picturesque traditions at the expense of topographical truth, but much later, is a pleasant black and ochre lithograph by Razé called "At Canterbury" (10 x 15), signed and dated on the stone 1865, showing the cathedral from the north-west from an apparently imaginary hill road rounding a rock.

Of the particular views of the outside of the cathedral that of St. Anselm's chapel from the Oaks seems to have provided the most frequent inspiration to artists. The first of these views known to me is a coloured aquatint by W. Green after "Jno. Geo Wood", described simply as a view of Canterbury Cathedral and dedicated to the Archbishop, published by the artist in 1800 (a copy is in the Victoria and Albert Museum). Bell Harry appears romantically vignettied by an outline of rather sketchy foliage above the mass of the south-east transept, and St. Anselm's Chapel, emerging at an angle, is in fact in this print partially obscured. The cemetery gate appears at the centre of the picture in the crenilated cemetery wall, again illuminated dramatically on the inner face but by a sun which in this picture appears to shine in all directions at once. Woolnoth's *A Graphical Illustration of the Metropolitan Cathedral Church of Canterbury* (1816), containing engraving by Woolnoth after T. Hastings and H. S. Storer, has another version of this view from harder round to the east. The inner face of the cemetery gate is lit this time by a more conforming south-south-west sun ($8\frac{1}{2} \times 7$) which glances across the angled face of St. Anselm's Chapel. Two roughly similar lithographs of this view appeared in 1822 ("Drawn from Nature & on Stone" by J. D. Harding, printed by C. Hullmandel and published by Rodwell & Martin, New Bond St.) (12×11) and 1833 (Hullmandel after Razé) ($14 \times 11\frac{1}{4}$), in the latter of which the crude framing foliage of Wood's aquatint reappears.

Not much different in viewpoint is the east view, seen in a number of smaler eighteenth century engravings before its appearance in Wild's book in 1807 and in Woolnoth's in 1816, and then in T. S. Cooper's 1830 collection of lithographs. This view is still taken from a little to the south of the cathedral, but draws back to the east enough to bring the Corona into the picture, which thus becomes the dominant feature, with the top of Bell Harry appearing over the roof of the south east transept.

Drawing back further produces another of the subsidiary characteristic images to which this wonderfully rich and complex building gives rise, the distant east view with Bell Harry rising above the very rectilinear and apparently flat-fronted apron of the Norman east transepts. The view from St. Martin's appears in the Woolnoth book, and that from next to St. Augustine's is the subject of one of T. S. Cooper's lithographs, and of two magnificent late eighteenth century coloured aquatints, one by Jukes after Days ($13 \times 18\frac{1}{2}$), the other by the celebrated watercolourist Paul Sandby, entitled "Great Gate of St. Augustine's Monastery at Canterbury" ($12\frac{3}{4} \times 20$), a print which must be the prize of any collection of Canterbury prints.

The third particular exterior view of the cathedral which demands a mention is the north-west view with Bell Harry at the centre, the north face of the nave to the right, and the two north transepts leading out to the left, with the chapter house. An engraving by Daniel King after Thomas Johnson is a companion to the Hollar

and King views mentioned earlier. The same view from closer in, in both cases described as a view of the cloisters, appears in Wild's and Woolnoth's books, very spectacularly in the former case, though with the help of an obliging north-east sun. It is one of the favoured images of the early days of photography. There is a handsome, if rather open textured, south-east view of Bell Harry and the surrounding ridges and gables by F. Bedford after Charles Wickes, printed by Day & Son, entitled "The Cathedral, Canterbury, Kent" in Gothic lettering, about 1850 ($17\frac{3}{4} \times 12$). A most amusing rendering of the north-west image, appears as a music cover lithograph of c. 1860 headed "Cathedral Gems No 12 — Canterbury" ($10 \times 7\frac{1}{2}$). The same viewpoint reappears in distant views from North Lane, such as the one contained in T. S. Cooper's lithograph series.

Of interior views the crypt alone provides a further distinctive and immediately recognizable Canterbury Cathedral image. A lithograph of 1822, by Hullmandel after J. D. Harding, called "Part of the Crypt of Canterbury Cathedral" ($8\frac{1}{2} \times 9$), shows two labourers in pudding basin hats sawing up wood in a shaft of sunlight to the south of the eastern apse of the main crypt. Woolnoth has a view, where a soldier and his young family are being shown round by a short, bandy-legged man in a wig, possibly a cleric. A fine view of about 1840 in my collection, "Entrance to the Crypt of Canterbury Cathedral", by G. Hawkins after W. Delmar, printed by Day & Son ($10\frac{1}{2} \times 14$), has two women in shawls and bonnets with a child caught in the light from a window beyond the north-east transept, and a begowned cleric proceeding down the aisle in the gloom towards them. The earlier engraved view by James Cole in Dart, called "Chapel of Our Lady in Criptis" ($12 \times 7\frac{3}{4}$), is a naive or even crude view of the chapel, with its star spangled vault and twisting columns, and has a quite different character from the nineteenth century views.

An engraving of the nave by James Cole, entitled "A Prospect of the Inside to the Choir of the Cathedral Church of Canterbury" ($14\frac{1}{2} \times 12\frac{1}{2}$), appears in Dart. This is a view slightly to the right of the axis with a group of figures in characteristic period costume standing level with the font. Razé's drawing of 1825, "Taken by L. L. Razé, 1825", "Drawn on stone" by W. Gauci, printed by Hullmandel and published by Henry Ward, Bookseller, Canterbury ($13\frac{1}{4} \times 11\frac{1}{4}$), has a curiously awkward character, more to do with the rather crude contrast of tones than with difficulties of perspective. Wild has a view a little off the axis to the left, somewhat comically foreshortened in effect as a result of the appearance of some figures under the crossing about the same size as others in the foreground. Woolnoth manages only an oblique view, from the south aisle, about the third bay down from the crossing.

Razé has a much grander view of the choir than his nave print, published by War in 1832, aquatinted by J. G. Reeve and printed by the famous London firm of R. Ackermann ($16\frac{1}{2} \times 13$). Woolnoth again shrinks from an axial view, and gives us an oblique view

from the north-east transept, as so often charmingly enlivened by small groups of figures — fashionably dressed ladies, a surpliced chorister disappearing from view followed up by a verger, and here an infant rolling on the floor beside the foot of a column. Dart has a quite ambitious view by James Cole, and like the other interior views in Dart it has a companion in the smaller “Propect (sic) of the Choir of the Cathedral Church of Canterbury, Printed for John Bowles at the Black Horse in Cornhill”. Of interest in comparison with the Razé view, it shows all the eighteenth century panelling, removed by 1832, and the Archbishop’s throne of the same date, now to be seen under the Arundel tower at the north-west corner of the nave (still in place in 1832). The eagle lectern is in the centre of the choir, facing to the north. All the panelling is shown in Wild’s view (1807), where the reredos is in the form of a classical tribune. A later picture of the interior arrangements of the choir is given in a large ochre and black lithograph of the new Archbishop’s throne, by G. Hawkins after Razé, printed by Day & Son and published by H. Ward, Mercery Lane, Canterbury (1847) ($16\frac{1}{2} \times 12\frac{1}{2}$).

Finally, the Trinity Chapel has excited many efforts, including an engraving by James Cole in Dart, a glancing “view from Becket’s Crown” by Woolnoth (1816), one in Charles Wild’s series (1807), a handsome, dark engraving by John Coney, companion to his south-west view (1816) ($10\frac{3}{4} \times 14$), and a magnificent black and ochre lithograph published in 1855 by the publisher of the grandest Razé south-west view, Henry Russell, Cathedral Yard, Canterbury (F. Bedford, after L. Ingram Rayner, printed by Day & Son) ($22 \times 26\frac{1}{2}$).

J. F. CHESSHIRE



Bee Boles in The Precincts.

BEE BOLES

Many a visitor to Canterbury must wonder what the small recesses in the Inner North Wall of the War Memorial Gardens are and likewise the six recesses set in the East Wall along the Oaks. I have counted twenty-four such recesses or "Boles" around the Walls. The word Bole or Boal is defined in Jamieson's Dictionary of the Scottish Language (1927) as "a square aperture in the wall of a house for holding small articles; it is said to be derived from the Welsh word "bolch or bwlch" meaning 'a gap or notch, an aperture.' A later version of Jamieson's Dictionary gives the meaning simply as 'a recess in the wall'. The actual term Bee Bole has been in common use in Scotland and occasionally one finds reference to its usage in Yorkshire. There seems to be no corresponding English word defining it as a 'wall recess made to shelter a (straw) hive; we have, therefore, adopted the term 'bole'.

Essentially a Bee Bole is an integral part of the wall and is recessed on all sides only the front being open. Illustrations of Precincts Boles appear elsewhere in this Chronicle.

When the National Bee Keeping Museum was founded in 1952 it was thought likely that few relics of this ancient craft of Bee Keeping would have survived because prior to the 19th century most Bee Keeping equipment was made from perishable materials. However, it was known that a few of these wall shelters or Bee Boles did exist along with old stone or brick Bee Houses e.g. Lady Anne's Beehouse at Appleby Castle, Westmoreland. Publicity given to this subject revealed many more examples of Bee Boles existing in the country. Quite a few sites have come to light in Kent in recent years e.g. Royden Hall, East Peckham, Quebec House, Westerham, The Yews, Bexley, Nr. Maidstone, Burton Farm House, Kennington, Ashford, Pett Place, Charing, Austens, Sevenoaks and more nearer home The Old Vicarage, St. Stephen's, Canterbury and surrounding walls of the Precincts.

Most of our Kentish Bee Boles are built either in the house walls or in garden walls connected with the house and, therefore, we are able to date most of Bee Boles with a degree of certainty, e.g. Royden Hall at East Peckham was built in 1530 and the eight Bee Boles are in the garden; the recesses are shallow and high above ground and well spaced out. We may suppose that they are of the same date as Royden Hall.

The Old Vicarage of St. Stephen's of Canterbury is connected to the Manor House by an old wall. In this wall there are three well preserved Bee Boles with gabled tops familiar in older Bee Boles in Kent. Their measurements are 10" x 15" high, 10" wide and 3' above ground. On the further side of the wall are a further twenty Boles.

It does seem that our Cathedral Bee Boles are of an early origin, not only are they built of Tudor brick but also like St. Stephen's are of a size compatible to Tudor times. In the War Memorial Garden there are twelve, some having been bricked in and more Bee Boles are to be found along the East wall of the Oaks and a further six in the Eastern most corner of The Deanery garden. The ones in the The Deanery garden may be older because they are smaller; this is because straw skep sizes have tended to increase throughout the centuries and Tudor Bee Boles certainly indicate the use of small skeps. Southene (1593) says that small hives are better than large ones for obtaining honey: skeps should not be 'above 15 or 16 rolles' nor contain more than half a bushel (4 gallons). Butler in the *Feminine Monarchie* (1609) recommends a height of 17" a diameter of 13" - 15" and a capacity of 3 pecks (6 Gallons).

The Cathedral Bee Boles follow a common pattern of being set close together or in twos or threes in a line. It is interesting to speculate when they stopped being used to store the straw skeps. It may be considered that this happened after the introduction of movable frame hives into Britain in 1862 and from that date onwards the use of skeps went out of fashion; people were soon building wooden hives with all the ensuing advantages of Bee management and although many Bee Boles must have remained in use especially in remote rural areas, this has not been in living memory.

There is always debate as to whether certain recesses are Bee Boles but R. M. Duruz and E. E. Crane put forward these points in favour of a Bee Keeping site.

1. Aspect South or South East and in a sheltered position.
2. Dimensions within a given range of sizes.
3. Recesses grouped in twos, threes or fours or forming a long line.
4. Situated in a garden or orchard wall.
5. A Bee Keeping tradition connected with the site.

Many other purposes in the past have made use of recesses e.g. to hold braziers for heating orchard walls, for housing falcons e.g. East Riddlesden Hall, Keighly. But it seems beyond doubt that around The Precincts of the Cathedral 'Bees' must have been kept in quite large numbers of straw skeps in Boles, the honey being used as a sweetener, wax for candles, the making of Mead and Bees for pollination.

A. P. N. HUMPHRIES

NOTICES

Since the last edition of the Chronicle came out at Easter 1977 some changes of importance have occurred in cathedral and diocesan personalities. The Right Reverend John Taylor Hughes has resigned from being Bishop of Croydon and been succeeded by the Rev. Stuart Snell a former Fellow of St. Augustine's College.

Bishop Hughes is now living in Burgate Street Canterbury, and a near neighbour who has also retired to Canterbury is Bishop Isherwood who retired last year after many years of service in the Diocese of Gibraltar.

After some three years as assistant organist of the Cathedral Mr. Stephen Darlington has been appointed organist of the Cathedral and Abbey Church of St. Alban's. He takes up his new appointment on September 1st and will be succeeded by Mr. David Flood who comes to us after a brilliant career as organ scholar of St. John's College, Oxford.

Two new appointments to the Cathedral Foundation are the Rev. Anthony Harvey, sometime Warden of St. Augustine's College, who was installed as a Six-Precacher last Spring, and the Rev. John de Sausmarez, Vicar of St. Peter in Thanet and Rural Dean of Thanet, who is to be installed as an Honorary Canon at the end of April.

CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL CHRONICLE
NUMBER 72 APRIL 1978

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FRIENDS OF CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL

BALANCE SHEET AND ACCOUNTS

30th SEPTEMBER 1978

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT AND MOVEMENT OF FUNDS AND RESERVES FOR THE YEAR ENDED 30th SEPTEMBER, 1978

GENERAL FUND	Note	Year ended 30/9/78	Year ended 30/9/77
INCOME		£	£
Subscriptions Received		10,038	8,565
Donations and Legacies		2,632	8,623
Donations for Cathedral Appeal Fund		903	1,148
Less: Expenses, Artists' Fees, etc.		—	278
		<u>903</u>	<u>870</u>
Dividends and Interest on Investments		280	920
Interest on Bank Deposit Account		16	273
Interest on Deposit with Central Board of Finance		1,417	343
Box Office Commission		—	223
Rent (less) Repairs		72	72
Transfer re Subscriptions of Deceased Life Members		120	20
Surplus from 1978 Friends Days		<u>286</u>	<u>119</u>
		15,764	20,028
Less: Notional Interest transferred to Cloister Bays Fund		<u>240</u>	<u>221</u>
		15,524	19,807
EXPENSES			
Administrative Salaries	1	3,844	4,581
Office Overheads	2	2,338	2,603
Chronicle and Annual Report		1,416	1,418
Promotion and Publicity		17	90
		<u>7,615</u>	<u>8,692</u>
SURPLUS FOR THE YEAR		7,909	11,115
ACCUMULATED FUND AT START OF YEAR		14,664	15,955
		22,573	27,070
Less: Gifts to Cathedral	3	4,250	16,980
Donations for Cathedral Appeal Fund		<u>903</u>	<u>870</u>
		5,153	17,850
Adjustment to equate Investments to Market Value		<u>103</u>	<u>(5,444)</u>
		5,256	12,406
ACCUMULATED FUND AT END OF YEAR		<u>£17,317</u>	<u>£14,664</u>
LORD BENNET FUND			
Representing £683.33 Nominal 3½% War Loan Increase/(Decrease) in Market Value of Invest- ment		(45)	90
Accumulated Fund at start of year		261	171
at end of year		<u>£216</u>	<u>£261</u>
LIFE MEMBERS' RESERVE			
Subscriptions from New Members		—	(2)
Accumulated Reserve at start of year		<u>5,765</u>	<u>5,735</u>
		5,765	5,785
Less: Transfer to General Fund re Deceased Members	(5)	120	(1)
Accumulated Reserve at end of year		<u>£5,645</u>	<u>£5,765</u>

BALANCE SHEET AS AT 30th SEPTEMBER, 1978

	Note	Year ended 30/9/78	Year ended 30/9/77
		£	£
FIXED ASSETS			
Freehold Property, 50 St. Martin's Road, Canterbury		2,000	2,000
Investments at Market Value:			
Equities.....		1,473	1,466
Fixed Interest		1,863	2,018
		<u>3,336</u>	<u>3,484</u>
Office Equipment at cost less depreciation	4	540	600
		<u>5,876</u>	<u>6,084</u>
NET CURRENT ASSETS			
Stocks		1,278	1,285
Income Tax Recoverable		1,311	1,610
Sundry Debtors and Prepayments.....		146	320
Cash at Bank and in Hand	5	6,238	5,118
Cash on Deposit with Central Board of Finance		10,000	12,000
		<u>18,973</u>	<u>20,333</u>
Less: Creditors and Accrued Charges		(768)	(779)
Cash to be paid to Cathedral Appeal Fund.....		(903)	(444)
		<u>17,302</u>	<u>19,110</u>
NET ASSETS		<u>£23,178</u>	<u>£25,194</u>
Representing: ACCUMULATED FUNDS AND RESERVES per Income and Expenditure Accounts.			
GENERAL FUND		17,317	14,664
LORD BENNET FUND.....		216	261
LIFE MEMBERS RESERVE.....		5,645	5,765
		<u>23,178</u>	<u>20,690</u>
EARMARKED FUNDS FOR			
EDWARD THE CONFESSOR'S CHAPEL UPKEEP	6	300	
CLOISTER BAYS.....	7	4,204	
		<u>4,504</u>	
		<u>£23,178</u>	<u>£25,194</u>

The foregoing Balance Sheet and annexed Accounts, have been prepared from a basis of actual costs (without adjusting those costs for inflation) unless otherwise stated.

Subject to this and to the relevant Notes, the foregoing Balance Sheet and Income and Expenditure Account give, in our opinion, a true and fair view of the state of affairs of the Friends of Canterbury Cathedral as at 30th September, 1978, and of the Surplus for the year ended on that date as disclosed by the records of the Charity and the information and explanations supplied to us.

5th January, 1979.
Canterbury.

REEVES & NEYLAN,
Chartered Accountants.

NOTES TO THE GENERAL FUND

	Year ended 30/9/78	Year ended 30/9/77
1. ADMINISTRATIVE SALARIES	£	£
Salaries paid—Relating to Current Year	3,844	3,381
Relating to Previous Years	—	1,200
	<u>£3,844</u>	<u>£4,581</u>
2. GENERAL FUND—OFFICE OVERHEAD EXPENSES		
Rates, Water and Insurance	238	431
Light, Heat and Cleaning	305	503
Printing and Stationery	215	295
Postage	336	270
Telephone	141	168
Equipment: Repairs and Renewals	53	38
Depreciation	60	67
Travel	577	470
Accountancy	324	321
Miscellaneous	89	40
	<u>£2,338</u>	<u>£2,603</u>
3. GIFTS TO CATHEDRAL		
Towards Edward the Confessor's Chapel Upkeep	300	—
Gift—Unspecified	1,000	—
Chalice	495	—
Towards Restoration of Jubilee Cloister Bay	7,312	—
Towards the Pilgrimage Centre—		
Shares transferred on 3/5/77 at Market Value*	—	16,280
Cash	—	700
	<u>£9,107</u>	<u>£16,980</u>
Payments being made from—		
General Fund	4,250	16,980
Edward the Confessor's Chapel Fund (Note 6)	300	—
Cloister Bays Fund (Note 7)	4,557	—
	<u>£9,107</u>	<u>£16,980</u>

* The Market Value of these shares at 30/9/78 was £21,387 (30/9/77 £20,860).

NOTES TO THE BALANCE SHEET

	Year ended 30/9/78	Year ended 30/9/77
4. OFFICE EQUIPMENT	£	£
Cost less Depreciation at start of year	600	482
Additions during year	—	185
	600	667
Less: Depreciation at 10%	60	67
Cost less Depreciation at end of year	<u>£540</u>	<u>£600</u>
5. CASH AT BANK AND IN HAND		
Cash at Lloyds Bank Ltd.—		
Current Account	4,748	2,972
Deposit Account	162	882
Cash at National Savings Bank—		
Ordinary Account	61	58
Special Investment Account	1,243	1,133
Cash in Hand	24	73
	<u>£6,238</u>	<u>£5,118</u>
6. EDWARD THE CONFESSOR'S CHAPEL UPKEEP		
Balance of Fund at start of year	300	300
Less: Gift to Cathedral (Note 3)	(300)	—
Balance of Fund at end of year	—	£300
7. CLOISTER BAYS FUND		
Income: Subscriptions and Donations	—	—
Interest—Notional	240	221
Actual	113	96
	353	317
Accumulated Fund at start of year	4,204	3,887
	4,557	4,204
Less: Gift to Cathedral (Note 3)	(4,557)	—
Accumulated Fund at end of year	—	£4,204



THE
FRIENDS
OF
CANTERBURY
CATHEDRAL

SUPPLEMENT TO THE CHRONICLE 197

STEWARD'S LETTER

April 1978.

Dear Friends,

The Supplement this year is reduced in size due to:

1. Changes in Youth Day arrangements for Friday, 23rd June.
These, apart from the Barbeque, are henceforth to be the responsibility of the Diocesan Youth Chaplain, whose address is Diocesan House, Lady Wootton's Green, Canterbury. Corporate Member Schools will almost certainly already have heard from the Chaplain and will in any event be hearing again about the Barbeque, for which tickets are, of course, required.
2. The fact that office accommodation changes on the 1st of No.8 The Precincts have made it impractical for the Friends' Office to sell tickets for Cathedral Concerts.
Forwards Music Centre, 37, Palace Street, and Pickford Travel Agency in St. Margaret's Street will be the chief ticket selling agencies in the City but the Chapter Office downstairs will also have an allocation for Canterbury Choral Society concerts. The Chapter Office will, however, continue to sell tickets for Dean and Chapter promoted concerts such as organ recitals.
3. Transfer of the Deaths of Friends list from the Supplement to the Chronicle proper.

Tickets required for FRIENDS' DAY (details opposite) should be applied for as usual. Would Friends requiring tickets for Friends' Day please cut off the lower half of the page opposite, returning it to the Friends' Office later than week ending May 6th.

Yours sincerely,

JOHN NICHOLAS.

FRIENDS' DAY - Saturday, 10th JUNE 1973.

Friends attending need to apply in advance for a ticket of some kind (see below and over)

PROGRAMME

10 am Sung Eucharist Eastern Crypt
5 pm Luncheon (for up to 150 only) Chapter House
(This is to be a seated 3-course meal for which the restricted number of tickets will need to be issued @ £1.50 per head strictly in date order of applications received.)

/ continued over...

PLEASE COMPLETE THE SECTION BELOW FOR TICKETS AND RETURN IT TO FRIENDS' OFFICE.

Require for 10th June please:

..	ticket/tickets	(for Services & Meeting)	@ No Charge
..	"	(for Lunch)	" £1.50 each
..	"	(for Tea)	" .40 "

te. The tickets will be in 3 sections. Those requiring Tea and Services only @ 40p will find the Lunch section missing; those ordering Lunch and Services only (£1.50) will have no Tea section. For £1.90 all three sections will be sent.

& Address

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Please enclose S.A.E. with payment.

.15 pm Annual Meeting Eastern Crypt

(The Archbishop will be present, and Press representatives are being invited to publicise the launching at this Meeting of a new Friends' Membership Drive.)

.15 pm Festal Evensong Quire
(Reserved Seating for Friends)

.15 pm Tea Shirley Hall
(The cost of tickets will of The Kings School be 40p per head)

ne Friends Office,
The Precincts,
 Canterbury, CT1 2EE.
ent.



ANTERBURY CATHEDRAL CHRONICLE

1979

С. К. Косилов

THE FRIENDS OF CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL

First Friend on the Roll:
HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN

Royal Patron:
HER MAJESTY QUEEN ELIZABETH THE QUEEN MOTHER

President:
THE LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, P.C., D.D.

Vice Presidents:
SIR ADRIAN BOULT, C.H., O.St.J., D.Mus.
LIEUTENANT-COLONEL G. H. MOUNT, T.D., J.P.
MISS GLADYS F. M. WRIGHT

Patrons:
THE LORD CORNWALLIS, K.C.V.O., K.B.E., M.C.
THE LORD CLARK OF SALTWOOD, C.H., K.C.B., F.B.A.
THE LORD RAMSEY OF CANTERBURY, D.D.
HENRY MOORE, ESQ, O.M., C.H., F.B.A., A.R.I.B.A.

Chairman of the Council:
THE DEAN OF CANTERBURY (The Very Reverend Victor A. de Waal)

Steward and Treasurer:
JOHN NICHOLAS, ESQ.

Members of the Council:

The Revd. Canon A. M. Allchin	Dr. Gerald Knight, C.B.E., D.MUS.
The Right Hon. Lord Astor of Hever	Sir Dawnay Lemon, C.B.E., Q.P.M.
Dr. E. Martin Browne, C.B.E., F.R.S.L.	The Ven. B. C. Pawley
The Mayor of Canterbury	Mrs. M. C. F. Prichard
Hamish Halls, Esq.	C. H. Rieu, Esq., M.C.
Professor W. Hagenbuch	The Revd. Canon J. Robinson, M.Th., B.D., F.K.C.
John Hayes, Esq.	Dr. Allan Wicks, F.R.C.O., D.MUS.
The Revd. Canon D. Ingram Hill, F.S.A.	Dr. Francis Woodman
David Kemp, Esq.	
The Honourable Charles Kitchener	

THE CHRONICLE 1979

Published by The Friends of Canterbury Cathedral

NUMBER 73

APRIL 1979

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EDITORIAL

For the first time in its history the *Chronicle* is being sponsored this year. We welcome this association with Townsend Thoresen. We are particularly grateful to the Company for making this publication possible for it enables us to devote more money to our main object which is the preservation of the Cathedral. For over 50 years Townsend Thoresen—the European Ferries—has been operating ferry services between this country and continental Europe, carrying nearly four million passengers last year. Dover is one of the Company's major ferry ports and many of the Company's passengers visit our Cathedral on their way to and from the Dover terminal. A link between us already exists but this generous sponsorship cements that relationship in a most practical and beneficial way.

While 1979 promises to be a very interesting year in the life of the Cathedral it should be recorded that its predecessor was probably the most memorable year since the 1970 commemoration of the martyrdom of St. Thomas Becket.

The last days of May were given up to a great Monastic Festival which drew great numbers of Benedictine monks and nuns and members of other religious communities, both Anglican and Roman Catholic, to Canterbury for a series of special services and lectures culminating in the visit of the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster to preach at Monastic Vespers on Sunday afternoon, May 28th, in the presence of our own Archbishop. Three days later a contingent of the cathedral choir (boys and lay clerks) set off to Holland for five days singing sacred music in churches in the Hague, Amsterdam and Utrecht and singing at services in the Abbey of Rollduc and the Basilica of Our Lady in Maastricht. And from July 23rd to August 13th Canterbury was the scene of the eleventh Lambeth Conference when city and cathedral acted as hosts to 450 bishops and many of their wives. The close of the year saw a visit from the Prince of Wales in November to preside over a meeting of the Cathedral Appeal Trustees and receive the Freedom of the City at the opening of the Guildhall of Holy Cross while just before Christmas the great South West Window of the Nave Transept received back its twelfth century stained glass figures of the Patriarchs splendidly cleaned and restored after more than three years work by Mr. Cole and his staff.

An article in this *Chronicle* describes something of what they have achieved and another one by Noel Mander and Allan Wicks sets out what is being done to restore the famous Willis organ of the Cathedral which was dismantled in September last and should be back in action by this midsummer.

At the end of May the Exhibition, which was closed for rearrangement last autumn, should be re-opened and will include at the west end of the Crypt the long awaited Cathedral Treasury of Ecclesiastical Plate on loan from churches of the County of Kent as well as the Cathedral. This has been made possible by a large gift

from the Goldsmiths Company. We include in this number an article on the Cathedral's lectern by Mr. Charles Oman of the Goldsmiths Company, whose great book, *English Church Plate, 597-1830*, is the standard work on Ecclesiastical silver.

1979 should see the completion of the work of reordering the sanctuary of the Quire begun experimentally in 1977 and a magisterial article by Mr. Tony Reader-Moore, an ordinand at the University of Kent at Canterbury and a diocesan Reader, should explain why this reordering has taken its present form. The dedication of the altar of St. Gregory on July 30th, in memory of Archbishop Geoffrey Fisher, was followed by a memorable sermon by our former Dean, Dr. Ian White-Thomson, which we reprint here in full, and articles on the end of the Precincts Fair by our Archivist, Miss Anne Oakley, and on the fate of the Canterbury tapestries at Aix by the editor of the *Chronicle*; book reviews complete the special features of this number, which should help to keep Friends all over the world well informed as to what is going on in 'Christ's Glorious Church'.

A few lines about the illustrations to this *Chronicle* may be worth adding.

The cover picture was taken by Mr. Ben May (who was responsible for the fine photograph of the Quire Sanctuary in the last *Chronicle*) at the Buckingham Palace Garden Party last August 1st and shows the Queen Mother, our Patron, with the Archbishop of Canterbury and several of the Bishops of the Lambeth Conference and their wives.

The picture of the High Altar was discovered for us by Mr. Tony Reader-Moore and must be a photograph taken about 1880 (it also shows the Quire Lectern and so illustrates Mr. Oman's article as well). Mr. Frederick Cole has supplied the picture of the South West window whose restoration he describes in his article.

The fine picture of the cathedral and churchyard which illustrates the article of our archivist Miss Oakley on the 'End of the Fair' was painted about 1800 and now hangs in the Masters' Common Room at the King's School and is reproduced by permission of the Headmaster. It shows Dean Powys and his daughters in the foreground, the old Norman North West Tower demolished thirty years later, the famous carving of the 'Altar of the Swords Point' over the South West porch concealed by a sundial, and the churchyard before it was grassed over; bollards of wood run down to the porch (one of which can still be seen in the Precincts under the Forrens arch).

DEREK INGRAM HILL.

NOTES AND NEWS

The year 1978 was notable for many improvements in the cathedral. Major additions include the furnishing of the chapel of St. Gregory the Great in the south east transept in memory of Archbishop Geoffrey Fisher. The simple stone altar was made by the cathedral masons and a plaque set in the lower part of the window behind which bears the inscription:

In this Chapel dedicated to Saint Gregory

Remember with Thankfulness

GEOFFREY FRANCIS FISHER

Archbishop 1945-1961

A Founder President of the

World Council of Churches

By his visit in 1960 to Pope John XXIII

he renewed friendship

between Rome and Canterbury

after 400 years

LAUS DEO

Altar ornaments and rails will be added in due course from the money subscribed by many friends and members of the late Archbishop's family. The altar was hallowed by Archbishop Coggan in the course of the Eucharist on Sunday, July 30th in the presence of Lady Fisher and many members of the family. At the same Service, the sermon (printed in this Chronicle) was preached by The Very Reverend Ian White-Thomson, and the celebrant at the early service the next morning was Canon Derek Ingram Hill who had worked in the diocese all through the primacy of Dr. Fisher, 1945-1961.

A week later after the Sung Eucharist on Sunday, August 6th, and in the presence of all the Canadian bishops, two stone plaques were unveiled on the wall in the south alley of the cloister commemorating the large and generous gifts of money made to the Cathedral Appeal by Canadians.

During this year, 1979, a large plaque of stone is to be placed on the west wall of the Cloister designed and executed by the distinguished artist Ralph Beyer (who was responsible for the much admired lettering on the walls of the nave of Coventry Cathedral). On this plaque will be inscribed the names of all those persons whose ashes lie under the turf of the Cloister Garth (other than archbishops and deans already commemorated by stone slabs set in the grass). These include Fr. John Bouquet, Canon Prichard and Canon Waddams, Mr. Harold Young, and Canon Clive Pare and Canon Horace Spence.

A beautiful table of oak made by the Cathedral staff was placed in the chapel of Our Lady Martyrdom in memory of the late Canon Tom Prichard, Vice-Chairman of the Friends for a number of years; other ornaments will follow here in due course.

Among other gifts by Friends given in 1978 was a beautiful chalice and paten of silver in memory of Anne Wharton Eggar, 1907-1972, the gift of her family and now in regular use at the Cathedral Eucharist.

An icon to be placed on the east wall of St. Gabriel's Chapel in memory of the late Dean Hewlett Johnson is now being painted by Mrs. M. Fortounnato and will be dedicated in due course.

At the last service of the Lambeth Conference the Archbishop of Canterbury went in procession, across the mosaic pavement from his Marble Chair, to hallow the Corona Chapel of St Thomas at the east end of the Trinity Chapel as a chapel in memory of the saints and martyrs of our own time. This is being used more and more as a place of vigil and prayer by Christians of all denominations.

Those who regularly come to Service through the south door under the great south west window will have noticed with pleasure the return of the two large pictures in grisaille showing two prelates in full pontificals said by Gostling in Chapter XXXVI of his famous *Walk in and about Canterbury* to be St. Augustine and St. Gregory in stone colour. They have been cleaned and restored by Miss Pauline Plummer who has already restored the canopies of the tombs of the Black Prince and King Henry IV. Incidentally these two large wooden pictures, which are curved in shape to fit against the wall, bear the initials and date W.W. 1828 (for Dr. William Welfitt, a canon for 37 years who died in 1837) which suggests a previous restoration. Gostling adds to his description the interesting note "Three round holes here seem to be marks of musket shot, probably from the 'saints' of the Great Rebellion".

Many ledger stones, beautifully inscribed and lettered with the names of distinguished churchmen of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, have been moved from the floor of the south west transept to the side aisles of the nave. This is to preserve them before the inscriptions are entirely worn away by the tramp of many feet year by year. Among those whose stones are being thus moved are Dr. Meric Casaubon and Dr. Castilion, Dean of Rochester, both prebendaries of our cathedral church, as well as Canon William Belk and his son Canon Thomas Belk, and Arch-deacon Kingsley who married the niece of Archbishop Abbot (1611-1633).

In the year 1541 new statutes of King Henry VIII established a Chapter of a Dean and twelve canons in place of the monastic chapter dissolved the year before. On this foundation were also twelve bedesmen and a little college of Six Preachers as well as minor canons, vergers, and other officers. The bedesmen (usually six in number) still head processions on Saturdays and Sundays carrying their white wands of office and wearing their gowns with a Tudor rose embroidered on them, and Mr. Robert Alcock, formerly of the Cathedral Works staff, was ceremonially admitted to this company on November 25th.

On Saturday, January 20th, 1979, the Reverend Kenneth Mason, Director of the Canterbury School of Ministry, was installed as the 200th Six Preacher on the foundation; this office has an unbroken history since 1541. During the Commonwealth the Six Preachers were the only clergy left to run the Cathedral.

A new translation of Dr. A. J. Mason's Latin collect is to be said daily by members of the Cathedral Chapter for the Cathedral and its work. Friends of the Cathedral and all who love Christ's glorious church in Canterbury may like to add this prayer to their own treasury of private devotions.

Eternal God, you have brought us together into a noble company:

We pray for one another and for the holy Church of Canterbury;

that in this house of our most blessed Saviour
dignity of worship, preaching the faith and holiness of life
may for ever abound and thence be spread through all the world,
through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

The Dean and Chapter are planning to install individual lamps, to a number of 24, in the Stalls of the singing men and boys in the Quire. These are being specially made and will have a real candle above (to be lit on special occasions) and a low-powered electric light below for normal use. The cost of each will be £60, and donations to provide the lamps will be welcome from Friends and from anybody interested. If this scheme proves successful, it may be possible to extend it at a later date to other parts of the Quire.

REVIEW, APRIL 1978-79

Many Friends who have read these Reviews closely over recent years, and especially those far distant from Canterbury or who for other reasons are out of touch with Precincts problems, will expect news in this Chronicle of our Pilgrimage Centre and of advances made towards the 10,000 membership target set in the Friends' Jubilee Year.

Delays and disappointments have needed to be faced in respect of both projects, particularly the former where one intractable accommodation problem has followed another. Of recent weeks, however, hopes have risen of finding a partial solution, and the substantial proportion of Friends' funds transferred for the Pilgrimage purpose to the Dean and Chapter a year and more ago naturally remains untouched and profitably invested. Membership progress has been somewhat more encouraging.

Most Friends will know that for many years past the Dean and Chapter's normal income, plus Friends' gifts alone, has fallen far short of meeting the Cathedral's fabric preservation needs and that the special £3½ million Appeal launched 4 years ago was intended primarily to fill this gap. The Appeal remains upwards of £½ million short of its original target, despite magnificent contributions to date from benefactors in this country and Canada in particular, and the work of many associated with that Appeal continues largely on a voluntary basis and happily now in full co-operation with the Friends of the Cathedral.

With the addition to our membership roll, as Honorary Friends, of the many names of those at home and abroad who are still contributing to the Appeal, it can be said that we are now within sight of the 10,000 "Friends/friends" target. Admirable voluntary assistance is being given to the Friends' office at Canterbury by several helpers in the hope of ensuring that these "Appeal" benefactors eventually become enrolled Friends of the Cathedral in the traditional sense.

The efforts of our Cathedral Desk volunteers, continuing to make new Friends of visitors at the rate of not less than one per day, and of regular other helpers, have been augmented by those of Mrs. Liz Giles and various of her assistants in the Cathedral Gifts office who give such spare time as they have to increasing the Friends' income from covenanted subscriptions; in the Friends' Office itself we have for months also had the valuable voluntary assistance of Miss Joyce Melhuish, a long-standing member of the Friends and recently retired as a senior civil servant with the Department of the Environment, where her responsibilities included the administration of Historic Monuments.

Early in January of this year the Friends were signally honoured by Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth The Queen Mother's gracious acceptance of our invitation to become Royal Patron of the Friends following her appointment as Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports; an office previously held by both Sir Robert Menzies and Sir Winston Churchill, who remained our Patrons until they died.

Sir Robert's death occurred in Melbourne last year, and his many friends in Canterbury and East Kent will miss him. But of wider and more immediate impact was the death on February 1st, 1979, of Mr. J. Burgon Bickersteth. An obituary notice and a recent photograph are re-printed in this Chronicle with the kind permission of *The Kentish Gazette*. Mr. Bickersteth, our senior Vice-President, was all that a true Friend of Canterbury Cathedral should be; constant, generous, caring and warmly understanding of the difficulties and needs of others. It was appropriate that his funeral service on February 12th should have been held in the Chapel of Our Lady Undercroft, because adjacent to that Chapel on the north side of the Cathedral crypt is the Chapel of St. Nicholas, restored in the 1950's by Burgon and his four then living brothers in memory of their parents, the Revd. Canon Samuel and Ella Bickersteth, who lived in the Precincts from 1916 until their lives' end.

We have also regrettably lost from the Friends' Council:

Mr. Colin Dudley—due to pressure of other work, Mr. Francis Rawes and Dr. William Urry—now based away from Canterbury and unable to attend Meetings, and Miss Gladys Wright—because she felt that the time had come for her to stand down in order to make way for a younger Council member.

Miss Wright has accepted an invitation to become one of The Friends' Vice-Presidents.

Friends Day on June 10th, 1978, which included a Chapter House Luncheon and Tea in the Shirley Hall of the King's School, to whose Headmaster and Catering Manager we are indebted for a variety of helpful services, would not have been the success it was were it not for the truly wonderful contribution made year after year by the ladies of our Catering Committee. Friends' Day was the only major social occasion held in the Friends' name last year because Cathedral staff and accommodation resources were abnormally stretched by a variety of exceptional demands, including the Lambeth Conference, held for the first time wholly in Canterbury between July 22nd and August 13th.

Friends' Day 1979 is to be on June 30th, and details of special 1979 events will be noted by European Friends in the Supplement to this Chronicle. All Friends will also wish to know that in the coming autumn they will be receiving an additional annual mailing in the form of a *Cathedral News Letter* whose production costs are being borne by the Friends, partly as a gift to the Dean and Chapter but mainly in the interests of keeping members in closer touch with matters of particular interest to them.

Friends' Accounts to September 30th, 1978 accompany this issue of the Chronicle, but the Society's future accounts, commencing this year, will be made up to March 31st instead of to September 30th in order to bring them into line with those of the Dean and Chapter and Cathedral Gifts Ltd. From the latest Accounts it will be noted that the Friends' subscription income increased by some £1,500 over the previous year, although with the Donations and Legacies figure substantially down, the net surplus of income over

expenditure was less than in the year to September 30th, 1977. This would not have been the case had a large expected legacy reached our bank account late in September instead of in the first few days of October last.

The last-mentioned legacy of £15,000 was from Miss Ethel Grace Dowdey of Roffey, Horsham, Sussex, and since then we have received a further legacy of over £17,000 from another long-standing Friend, Miss Lilian Marie Dennler, who died at Deal, Kent, in August, 1977. All the substantial legacies we have so gratefully received over recent years stem from the dedicated devotion of people who became Friends of the Cathedral many years ago. It is to be hoped that some of our newer Friends may one day be equally generous with bequests, and the following information on this subject may be of interest to U.K. taxpayers:—

In the United Kingdom the current system of personal taxation favours, through exemptions and concessions, gifts and other benefactions to charities such as The Friends of Canterbury Cathedral.

1. Lifetime Gifts

Lifetime gifts to the Friends, whether of cash or other assets, attract no U.K. Capital Gains or Capital Transfer Tax liability, for either the donor or the Friends. The donor must live for one whole year after making the gift otherwise the value of the gift, and all other charitable gifts to charity made in the twelve months prior to death, will be added to any charitable bequest made in the Will. If the total figure is less than £100,000, no tax liability will be incurred; above that figure, with some minor exceptions, some Capital Transfer Tax may be payable.

2. Bequests

Subject to the £100,000 limit mentioned above, bequests may be made to the Friends free of Capital Transfer and Capital Gains Tax. Bequests may be in cash, shares, property or any other kind of assets.

Intending benefactors by Will should consult their usual adviser as to the form of legacy taking into account their individual circumstances. A suggested form of legacy might be:

“I give to The Friends of Canterbury Cathedral the sum of £..... for the general purposes of the said Friends and declare that the official receipt of the said Friends shall be sufficient discharge to my executors.”

Please note that where donors have assets which they would like to pass over to the Friends, they should transfer the assets directly rather than converting them into cash first. Capital Gains would be payable on any sale for cash but no Capital Gains is payable on a direct transfer of the assets to the Friends.

Finally, Friends may wish to note that there is a fine collection of slides on several Cathedral subjects in the possession of the Friends. These are available to lecturers approved by the Steward, who with reasonable notice is pleased to meet requests for slide lectures provided the Friends are not expected to bear any costs.

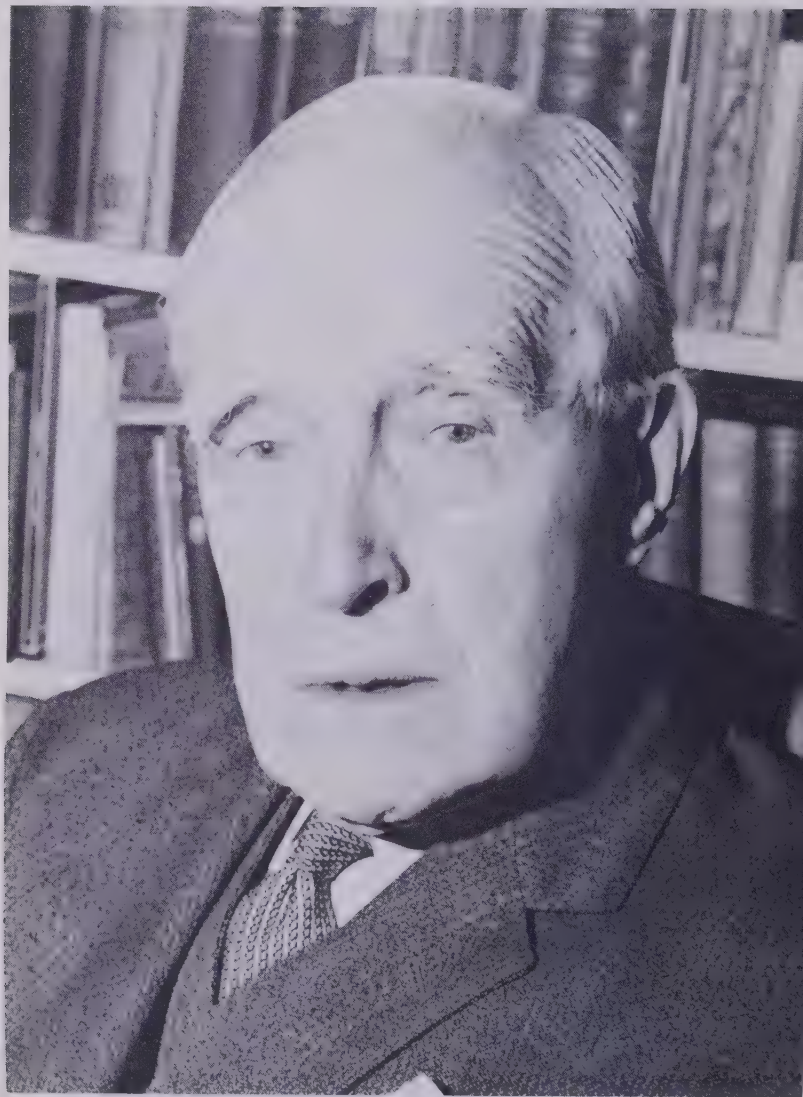
CANTERBURY PILGRIMAGES

Another opportunity occurs this coming August for a specialised visit to Canterbury. Guests will spend four nights at St. Augustine's College in single or double rooms and take breakfast and evening dinner in the beautiful 14th century refectory. Lectures and tours of Canterbury and district will be organised, and led by well-known local scholars.

Among the places visited will be St. Augustine's Abbey, Blackfriars, Greyfriars, St. Martin's Church, the King's School, St. John's Hospital, the Norman church at Barfreston, and Fordwich the ancient port of Canterbury. A call will be made at a recently discovered Roman site and one of the Cathedral tours will be made after closing-time when the ancient windows are gloriously revealed by the flood-lighting outside. There will also be two musical evenings in the refectory.

The charge of £93* includes everything but lunches and wines taken at dinner, and the Pilgrimages begin on July 30th, August 6th, 13th and 20th. Further details can be obtained from The Bursar, The King's School, Canterbury. (Canterbury 52022).

** There is a 10% reduction on this figure for members of the Friends.*



John Burgon Bickersteth, M.C., C.M., F.S.A.—a recent photograph

(Re-printed by courtesy of "The Kentish Gazette")

DEATH OF CATHEDRAL FRIEND

One of the Precincts' great characters, Mr. John Burgon Bickersteth, died in a Littlebourne nursing home last Thursday, February 1st, at the age of 91.

Formerly of 11a The Precincts, Mr. Bickersteth had close ties with Canterbury for over 60 years. His father, Canon Samuel Bickersteth, was a Residentiary Canon of the Cathedral, and his brother, the Ven. Julian Bickersteth, was also a Residentiary Canon and a former Archdeacon of Maidstone.

In 1928 Mr. Bickersteth was asked by Dean George Bell to serve on the Council of the Friends of the Cathedral. He continued on the council until the mid-1970s when he retired and was appointed a vice-president of the Friends.

During World War I Mr. Bickersteth served with the Royal Dragoons, winning the M.C. and Bar, and during World War II was education adviser for the Canadians in England, later becoming Director of Army Education at the War Office.

Canada played an important part in Mr. Bickersteth's life. He first went to Western Canada in 1911 as a layman on the Archbishop's Mission and from 1921-47 was warden of Hart House at Toronto University.

Hart House has built up a reputation as one of the world's finest student undergraduate centres and Mr. Bickersteth kept fond memories of this time there. Up until shortly before his death he kept in close contact with many of his former students and enjoyed welcoming them to Canterbury.

Although domiciled in Britain since 1947, Mr. Bickersteth was allowed to retain his Canadian citizenship and was granted one of the country's leading awards in 1975 when made a Member of the Order of Canada.

The accolade, bestowed on no more than 80 people every year, honours distinguished service in a particular community or profession.

Apart from his great interest in the Cathedral, Mr. Bickersteth was a prison visitor for many years.

DEATHS OF FRIENDS

*Recorded with reverence and honour following notification
received between March 1st, 1978 and February 28th, 1979*

Alchin, Mrs. A.	Jackson, Miss S.
Alchin, Miss B. M.	Kilshawe, Mr. T.
Allen, Brig. J. F. W.	King, Mrs. H.
Andrews, Mr. D. F.	Knatchbull, Miss M.
Andrews, The Rev. H.	Kyle, Miss M. C.
Andrews, Miss J. M.	Leney, Mr. A. M.
Baker, Mr. J. K.	Ling, Mr. E. A.
Barnes, Miss P. A.	Lister, Mrs. P. A.
Barnet, Miss L. G.	Mackenzie, Mr. M. E.
Baynes, Miss L. D.	Marsdon, Miss M.
Bibby, Miss M. M. J.	Marsh, Miss E. L.
Bickersteth, Mr. J. Burgon	Mason, Mr. A. F.
Bing, Miss M.	Masters, The Rev. S. Y.
Bishop, Mr. G.	Meyrick, Mrs. A. M. F.
Blackith, Miss E.	Mourilyan, Mrs. L. D.
Bolton, Mrs. H. R.	Money, Mr. B.
Bovenshen, Sir Frederick	Neame, Mrs. A.
Burgess, Dr. M. A. S.	Overy, Mrs. H. M.
Burrows, Miss L.	Overy, Mr. J. H.
Caldwell, Mrs. V.	Parker, Miss K. B.
Cartwright, The Rev. Canon J. L.	Perry, Miss S. N.
Chapman, Miss D. J. F.	Pilkington, Miss D. B.
Clark, Miss E. G.	Prickett, The Rev. W. E.
Clarke, Dr. Owen	Prickett, Mrs. N. C.
Clay, Sir Charles T.	Raymond, Mr. H.
Cockcroft, Mrs. E.	Redman, Mr. R. R.
Croft, Mrs. C.	Robertson, Mrs. M. H.
Duprey, Miss G.	Rose, Miss A. E.
Dyer, Mrs. E. F.	Rose, Mrs. L.
Dyke, Mrs. F. M.	Sharples, Miss H.
Evans, Mr. J. M.	Shirley, Mrs. D.
Farrant, Miss H. R.	Skinner, Miss A. M.
Field, Miss B.	Smith, Miss M. A.
Foat, Mr. J. F.	Spiers, Mr. W. E.
Gore, Miss M.	Stocks, Mrs. O. G.
Grayson, Miss V.	Strouts, Miss Norah
Griffith, Miss B.	Sweeney, Mrs. E. E.
Hamlyn, Mrs. O. M.	Thompson, Mrs. F. V.
Hammond, Mr. A. H.	Pharo-Tomlin, Mrs. E. M. Q.
Head, Miss N. E.	Tophill, Mr. R.
Hind, Mr. E. P.	Trembath, Mrs. E. M.
Hoare, Mr. H. J.	Tyrrel, Mr. A. C.
Holliday, Mr. H. H.	Blake-Wacher, Mrs.
Holthouse, Mr. C. S.	Wacher, Miss. H. S.
Horsbrugh, Miss J. L.	Waynforth, The Rev. Canon C. I.
Hubbard, Mr. M. E.	Whitwham, The Rev. H.
Knatchbull-Hugessen, Lady	Wilde, Mr. C. A.
Hussey, Mr. W. J.	Williams, Mr. W. C. G.
Irwin, Mr. W. W.	Wood, Mrs. M.

RESTORATION OF SOUTH-WEST TRANSEPT WINDOW

This great window measures 52 ft. \times 24 ft. and comprises 169 panels of stained glass. The twenty-four main lights combine 12th century figure panels with 15th century heraldry while the tracery has an assembly of 12th, 13th and 15th century glass.

It became evident during a survey of the windows in 1971 that the medieval glass was in an advanced state of decomposition, due to the combined effects of age and weather on glass which is high in alkali (18 per cent) and lime (20 per cent), making it vulnerable to static moisture because of its low silica content.

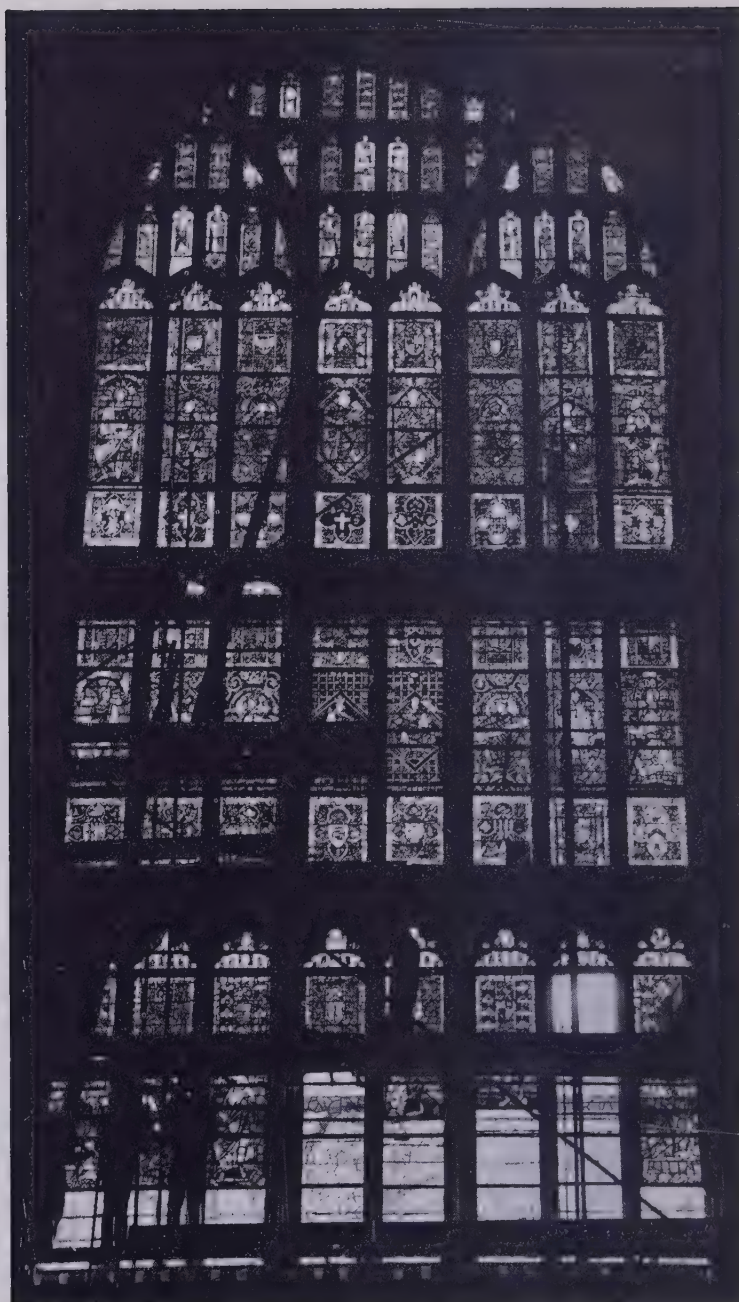
When glass retains its surface polish, pollutants and dirt are removed by rain and wind but once the surface becomes roughened by age and weather it retains and absorbs moisture which hydrolyses the chemical structure of the glass, a process which over the years forms an opaque crusty layer which is itself absorbent, and thus the rate of decomposition accelerates until the glass is corroded into deep pitting, in many areas penetrating through the entire thickness of the glass.

It would be reasonable to expect that the inner painted glass surfaces would be protected and safe within the Cathedral atmosphere but this has been far from the case. Indeed the problems discovered here were in many ways more severe, as, unwashed by rain, the condensation together with dust, by-products of combustion, lime dust, candle smoke and animal products had combined to form a cement-like crust on the glass for which there is no solvent. Unlike the external damage this deposit appears to have had a minimal effect on the glass surface beyond removing the glaze, but it has attacked the fired pigment, lifting it in large flakes and desiccating the painted line work to the point of total loss.

It was evident therefore that in the restoration process we had to cope with two quite separate problems: loss of the painted pattern on the inner surfaces and decomposition of the outer surfaces.

A set of procedures was evolved based upon those employed on the restoration of the South-East Quire Clerestory windows and streamlined within our self-imposed brief, this being:

1. That none of the ancient glass should be replaced regardless of condition,
2. That there should be no repainting nor refiring of the ancient glass,
3. That all processes used should be reversible,
4. That procedures should be in the following sequence of priorities: restoration, consolidation, conservation.
5. That a complete record should be kept of the work done on each piece of glass and its condition before and after restoration.



Replacement of ancient glass in S. W. Transept window

It was on April 22nd, 1976, that the last panel of stained glass was removed from the Great South-West Transept window and the openings reglazed temporarily with plate glass. The work had started two months before and was made necessary by urgent repair work to the gable above and consequent possible danger to the ancient windows. We were thus provided with an excellent opportunity to make use of the mason's scaffolding and so bring restoration of the stained glass in this particular window forward in the work programme.

At that time, restoration was in progress on the two North Quire Clerestory windows and it was necessary to reorganise completely the storage racks within the limited space available in the strong room, for it was essential that the ancient glass be kept in temperature/humidity controlled conditions until the panels could be inserted into the work programme.

Before we began this phase, a master plan was devised, allocating to each panel a numbered and lettered code, which was attached to the glass as it was removed from the stonework. The code followed the glass throughout the various processes of restoration, since only in this way could it be made certain that all the glass was returned to the Cathedral in the correct order. The key to the code was on a large scale drawing of the window prepared beforehand.

Before the work of restoration was started, each panel was photographed under controlled conditions and a rubbing made of the lead pattern. This pattern was painted on to a glass-bottomed tray and given its code number. The rubbing was photographed, enlarged and a number of photostatted copies made. Upon these a record was made of all fractures and of the treatment applied to each piece of glass as it passed through the various phases of restoration. This form of record is based on that established by the *Corpus Vitrearum*.

The glass was then carefully dismantled from the leads and each piece placed in its position on the previously numbered tray. It was at this stage that the full extent of the damage was seen, for due to the stresses within the uneven pitted outer surfaces, internal stresses within the glass structure are caused, which, with the changes of temperature, cause crazing and multiple fractures which are only disclosed when the glass is freed from the leads.

The individual pieces of glass were subjected to those processes which have been evaluated and approved by our scientific adviser, Professor R. G. Newton. These were as follows:—

1. Ultrasonic treatment.
2. Airbrasion to remove hydrated silica and accretions of foreign matter from external surfaces only.
3. Cleaning the inner painted surfaces using fibre glass brushes both hand-operated or motor driven, avoiding overcleaning and damage to the painted detail.

The fractured glass was then carefully jointed together, using an acetic-free silicone cement, each joint having taken 24 hours to cure.

Much of the glass was too fractured or fragile to be releaded without support. A technique has therefore been developed at Canterbury which involves heat moulding new clear glass to the contours of the old glass and edge jointing the two together, thus giving strength and consolidation.

In certain cases considered essential to the iconography it was found possible to replace lost pigment on the plating glass and fire it at the same time that the glass is moulded; this pigment is visible when the window is in its position in the Cathedral.

When the pieces of glass were restored to translucence and consolidated, they were reglazed on the original rubbing. The old leads were recycled and new leads made in the workshop which contain up to ten per cent of tin as compared with one per cent in a commercial lead. Each panel was then framed in aluminium or brass to give extra strength and to assist in handling and removal for future inspection.

On completion the panels were again photographed in black and white and colour for the records.

Obviously, if this glass were placed back in the windows without some protection, the action of corrosion would soon start again.

In principle, the means of protection is in the form of a layer of protective glazing between the stained glass and the elements, thus in effect moving it into the Cathedral atmosphere. It would seem desirable that a thin protective membrane should be applied to the windows, and this has in fact been done in certain continental Cathedrals. Our own tests with Vyacril-Desmodur between May 1975-78 have however shown that this treatment traps moisture which lifts the membrane into blisters and that chemical activity continues, even accelerates, behind the membrane. This conclusion has been confirmed by Professor Newton who conducted his own tests with glass prepared at this studio.

At that stage therefore, we decided to proceed with the replacement of the ancient glass behind a system of 'protective glazing'. This procedure raised many problems, the most severe of which are set out below:

- (a) As it was not possible to make hermetically sealed units with lead lights, it was necessary to ventilate the inter-space to obviate condensation.
- (b) Should ventilation be to the interior or exterior?
- (c) The width of the interspace relates to (i) the ability of air to circulate adequately on the one hand and (ii) the problems of visual parallax on the other.
- (d) There is a very different structural problem when returning the glass to:—
 - (i) the glazing applied into wood frames
 - (ii) the glazing into stone mullions and horizontal members.

- (e) Visually, completely clear glass in large sheets would be ideal for protective glazing when viewing the ancient glass from the interior because there would be no obscuration of the stained glass. However, architecturally, this is quite unacceptable since it would result in very large windows of totally reflecting glass with no texture or scale.

In the south window of the south-west transept, the glass was fitted into grooves in the stone mullions and horizontal members. This groove was already big enough to cause us to think twice about increasing it to take a further membrane of glazing. We have therefore designed a Delta metal frame which is fixed to the reveals of the mullions and will enable both the protective and the ancient glass to be removed in panels from an interior scaffold for cleaning and monitoring of condition of the old glass.

The problems (a), (b) and (c) above have been solved by forming a small interspace between the protective glazing and the stained glass of about 19mm and venting this to the outside air, since tests have revealed that the interior atmosphere has a higher humidity, on average, than the exterior.

Temperature and humidity tests are being carried out on these windows for a period of eighteen months to two years, and automatic recording equipment is monitoring temperatures on the faces—the exterior, the interspace and the interior. Similar records are being taken of the temperature range between the top and bottom of this high window. In addition, spare probes are being used to record the temperature in the Cathedral at floor level and at the vault level. This last may well assist in determining the size of the problem of desiccation in the stonework.

As for the form of glass for the protective glazing, it was finally agreed that it was essential, architecturally, to have a small scale leading arrangement which would help to maintain the texture of the windows and reduce reflection. It was felt that a complete copy of the lead pattern of the existing glass would be excessively expensive and, whilst reducing the problem of parallax would create unnecessary obscuration. Therefore, a compromise has been established whereby 'a random design' was made which 'recognised the main outlines of the iconography'. This means that each protective glazing was different and showed the outlines of the design of the ancient glass in a subtle manner, without taking the leads across important features.

By using these procedures we are protecting the ancient glass from the elements while the constant movement of air within the interspace will keep the glass free from the destructive effects of static moisture and at the same time reduce the formation of condensation on the painted inner surfaces.

The installation of the restored window with its protective glazing was completed on 24th November, 1978.

FREDERICK W. COLE.

RESTORATION OF CATHEDRAL ORGAN

A Report by

NOEL MANDER and ALLAN WICKS

The Organ in Canterbury Cathedral was built by Henry Willis in 1886, incorporating a certain amount of pipework from previous instruments, some of it quite historic. Full details of this will not be available until the whole instrument has been dismantled and each individual pipe examined.

The organ was altered in 1905, 1908, substantially rebuilt in 1948 and again in 1968, much of the action being retained from previous rebuilds. By 1978 the instrument had become increasingly unreliable and a major reconstruction became imperative.

The work in hand is being carried out with the aim of providing the Cathedral with a thoroughly reliable and efficient instrument and to try to overcome the physical difficulties that any instrument in Canterbury Cathedral is bound to encounter. The Father Willis pipework is to be restored, the Choir and Pedal sections extensively remodelled.

Ever since 1886 the pipework has been located in the South Choir Triforium. For architectural reasons it must remain there, but the organ will be brought forward as far as possible so more of the tone can be projected into the Choir and Nave. For the accompaniment of Nave services an entirely new chorus, in its own case, is to be positioned against the North Aisle wall.

The new three manual console will be sited on the screen, and the specification of the rebuilt organ follows:—

Great Organ 15 stops		Swell Organ 14 stops	
Double Open Diapason	16	Double Diapason	16
Open Diapason I	8	Open Diapason	8
Open Diapason II	8	Lieblich Gedackt	8
Claribel Flute	8	Salicional	8
Stopped Diapason	8	Vox Angelica TC	8
Principal	4	Principal	4
Flute Harmonique	4	Open Flute	4
Twelfth	2½	Flageolet	2
Fifteenth	2	Mixture 17.19.22	III
Piccolo	2	Sharp Mixture 15.19.22.26.29	V
Mixture 15.17.19.22	IV	Hautboy	8
Furniture 19.22.26.29	IV-VI	Tremulant	
Trombone	16	Double Trumpet	16
Trumpet	8	Trumpet	8
Clarion	4	Clarion	4
Swell to Great		Octave	
Choir to Great			

Choir Organ 12 stops

Stopped Diapason	8
Dulciana	8
Principal	4
Chimney Flute	4
Nazard	2 $\frac{2}{3}$
Blockflute	2
Tierce	1 $\frac{1}{3}$
Larigot	1 $\frac{1}{3}$
Mixture 22.26.29.33	IV
Cremona	8
Tremulant	
Tuba	8
Tuba Clarion	4
Swell to Choir	

Pedal Organ 13 stops

Open Diapason	16
Vionone	16
Bourdon	16
Octave	8
Flute	8
Superoctave	4
Open Flute	4
Mixture 19.22.26.29	IV
Contra Posaune	32
Ophicleide	16
Fagotto	16
Posaune	8
Clarion	4
Choir to Pedal	
Great to Pedal	
Swell to Pedal	

Nave Organ (Played from Great Manual)

Open Diapason	8
Stopped Diapason	
Octave	4
Superoctave	2
Mixture 19.22.26.29	IV
Pedal Subbass	16

Drawstops will also control:

Great and Pedal Combinations coupled

Full Organ (Adjustable by switchboard)

Compass of Manuals	CC — A	58 notes
Compass of Pedals	CCC — F	30 notes

8 Pistons to each manual

8 Toe Pistons to Pedal Organ

8 Toe Pistons duplicating Swell or General Pistons

8 General Pistons

Reversible Pistons to	Choir to Pedal
	*Great to Pedal
	*Swell to Pedal
	*Swell to Great
	Choir to Great
	*Duplicated by Toe Pistons

Setter Piston

General Cancel

Noel Mander, M.B.E.
St. Peter's Organ Works
London, E.2.

Allan Wicks, Mus. Doc.,
Organist.

ARCHBISHOP GEOFFREY FISHER

Sermon preached by Dean Ian White-Thomson in Canterbury Cathedral on Sunday, 30th July, 1978, following the Dedication of St. Gregory's Chapel in memory of Archbishop Geoffrey Fisher.

“There are diversities of gifts but the same spirit”—a verse from today's Epistle, I Cor. 1 : 4.

It was my privilege to have been Domestic Chaplain to Archbishop Fisher during his first two years as Archbishop of Canterbury: 1945-1947. And my friendship with him continued until his death on September 15th, 1972. I saw him for the last time on August 16th of that year in the garden of the Rectory of the little village of Trent. Of that lovely village and parish in which he spent the last years of his retirement he once wrote: “All is just what it should be: True country and a pure country village . . . I have been wonderfully blessed in the whole thing. I'm allowed to take services, two or it may be three, every Sunday . . . That is a joy.” He and I had a very happy talk together and before I left he gave me his blessing.

I am glad therefore to be here this morning for the dedication of the Altar in the Chapel of St. Gregory in memory of the Archbishop, and grateful for the invitation to preach on this occasion, especially when Lady Fisher and so many of the family are with us.

During the two years I was acting as Chaplain I saw the remarkable way in which the Archbishop took the strain and shouldered the immense responsibilities of an office he had never sought; an office which, however, when offered to him he accepted as a direct call from God—and therefore one for which he knew he would be given the necessary strength. He was accustomed from his earliest days to carry heavy responsibilities; his approach to new work, fresh responsibilities, was always the same. In his own words, “I never bothered about being frightened or not frightened about any job. If it was mine to do, I had to do it with full courage and reasonable confidence in God.” His was an attitude so admirably expressed in the last verse of the Te Deum, “O Lord in thee have I trusted: let me never be confounded.”

So as we remember Geoffrey Fisher let us thank God first for his faith, his trust, his confidence in God. Strong, deep, unshakeable, joyous. There is much talk today of a crisis of faith, of loss of nerve, of deep-seated pessimism, to describe the climate in which we are living. Archbishop Fisher, so far as I knew, experienced no such crisis of faith in his own personal life; he never gave the impression of having a nerve to lose, and because of his faith in God as revealed in Christ, because of his trust in the renewing, revealing, inspiring, enabling power of the Holy Spirit, his outlook was a profoundly hopeful and optimistic one. How fitting it is that the altar dedicated in his memory in St. Gregory's Chapel should

stand alongside that of Archbishop William Temple in the Chapel of St. John—William Temple, whose unshakeable faith in the sovereignty of God brought light and hope during his lifetime and still brings light and hope to Christian people everywhere. It was William Temple's earnest wish that Geoffrey Fisher should succeed him as Archbishop.

Secondly, we thank God for Geoffrey Fisher's pastoral gifts—his love for people. *The gift*—the first fruit of the spirit.

When the announcement was made of the appointment of Geoffrey Fisher as Archbishop of Canterbury, Bishop Henry Montgomery-Campbell, who succeeded him as Bishop of London, referred in a broadcast to the nation to some words in the Service of the Consecration of a Bishop in which the Bishop is commissioned to be "to the flock of Christ a shepherd". "A shepherd," said the Bishop, "— there is no more beautiful or more accurate word to describe the Christian ministry. Geoffrey Fisher has been a shepherd to boys at Marlborough and Repton, to the diocese of Chester with its villages and its Merseyside, to the diocese of London, the most important diocese in the Anglican Communion; and now he is to be called to be Archbishop of Canterbury, the most important office in that Communion. He will still be a humble shepherd, and London at least can say of his too brief episcopate there what the psalmist said of David: 'So he fed them with a faithful and true heart: and ruled them prudently with all his powers'."

It was this pastoral gift—this pastoral instinct, this care and concern primarily for people but also for all the Churches—that inspired him to undertake at the age of seventy-three those historic visits to Jerusalem, Istanbul and finally to Rome, where in the words of the commemorative plaque, "by his visit to Pope John 23rd he renewed friendship between Rome and Canterbury after 400 years".

It was his unerring pastoral sense that led him to make that courtesy call on Pope John. He felt, and felt rightly, that the Pope would respond in the spirit of Christian love. And so it happened. "We talked as two happy people who had seen a good deal of the world and of life and of the Churches, glad to talk together." So history was made.

Can anyone doubt that this tremendous venture and those that preceded it—his visits on many occasions to America and to Canada, his visit to Australia and New Zealand and Tasmania, to West Africa, to Central Africa, to India, Japan and Korea, to Nigeria and East Africa, all between 1946 and 1960—can anyone doubt that the inspiration came from the Holy Spirit of God—as it most certainly came to another great Christian traveller and missionary, St. Paul, when he was moved to say on his third missionary journey, "After I have been to Jerusalem I must also see Rome."

In the course of the sermon which Archbishop Fisher preached in Rome on December 1st, 1960, he used these words: "Here is indeed a day of the Lord, simple, unspectacular, hardly to be observed, a whisper of the still small voice of the Holy Spirit."

How right it is that this dedication ceremony should take place in the middle of this particular Lambeth Conference—the first Residential Conference, the first to be held in Canterbury. A Conference in which great emphasis has been laid and is being laid on the renewing power of the Holy Spirit; on the importance of hearkening to the voice of the Lord in quietness and confidence; on paying attention to the whisper of the still, small voice of the Holy Spirit. These things first—first for every one of us; for they are of first importance.

But there is to be emphasis also on the office and work of a Bishop in the Church of God.

I feel certain that the Bishops present at the Lambeth Conference would hope that the words spoken by the psalmist of David might be applied to each one of them, as they were to Geoffrey Francis Fisher, 99th Archbishop of Canterbury.

"So he fed them with a faithful and true heart: and ruled them prudently with all his power."

THE LITURGICAL CHANCEL OF CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL

An essay in antiquarian research

INTRODUCTORY

With rare exceptions, the liturgical chancels of our old cathedrals and churches have undergone great and recurrent changes since the troubled years of the Reformation. All too often it is now impossible to tell exactly how they were arranged during the heyday of the medieval church. All the changes brought about by the Reformers were designed totally to abolish the medieval concept of worship and the iconoclastic fervour with which such change was usually carried out served no cause except that of destruction. Later, the ideas of well meaning vandals like Wyatt in the late eighteenth century wrought untold havoc with interiors of cathedrals such as Salisbury and Ely. At the latter place since the Reformation the high altar has stood in four quite different positions and the changes which have taken place at Salisbury and Lichfield have been as extensive and equally as bad. Schemes to make things more 'cosy', usually forced on chapters by cold winter services in unheated choirs, have had disastrous effects on the heritage of the middle ages, often destroying rare and irreplaceable ancient work in furnishings and monuments. Canterbury Cathedral has not escaped, although the destruction has been less extensive than elsewhere. Added to this, the well intentioned efforts of the Victorian gothicists to put matters right have only exceptionally resulted in true restorations of what the original builders intended and by and large their work has been just as assertive as any carried out in previous times.

The purpose of this paper is to trace as far as possible the ancient liturgical arrangements in the quire of Canterbury Cathedral and to give in some detail a history of the changes which have taken place since the reign of Edward VI. No attempt has been made to discuss the disposition of the Saxon cathedral, or of Lanfranc's early Norman chancel nor that of the choir of Conrad, all of which are fully documented by Eadmer and Gervase in Professor Willis's history of the cathedral published in 1845. The essay commences with the rebuilding of the quire by the two Williams after the great fire of 1174.

THE MEDIEVAL PERIOD

Gervase the monk, in his classic account of the rebuilding, says, "In the beginning of the sixth year (1180) and at the time when the works were resumed, the monks were seized with a violent longing to prepare the choir, so that they might enter it at the coming Easter. And the master, perceiving their desires, set manfully to work to satisfy the wishes of the convent. He constructed with all diligence the wall which encloses the choir and presbytery. He erected the three altars of the presbytery. He carefully prepared a

resting-place for St. Dunstan and St. Alphege. A wooden wall to keep out the weather was set up transversely between the penultimate pillars at the eastern part, and had three glass windows in it."

The liturgical arrangements then fixed were to provide the basis upon which succeeding priors and monks were to build and develop. All through the medieval period the ritual planning was never altered fundamentally, although greatly embellished and modified during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. William's arrangement consisted of two rows of stalls stretching from the pulpitum screen to the western piers of the quire crossing, backed by a low wall which still exists to provide the base for Eastry's later screens. At the eastern ends on the south and north respectively were the stalls of the archbishop and the prior. Between the western crossing piers were two steps leading to the presbytery, the lower of which had a semi-circular projection, probably to support the great desk or lectern. From the presbytery three steps situated halfway up the first bay east of the crossing led to the sacarium. A narrow landing divided them from four more steps adjacent to the first pair of pillars from the crossing piers, and a wide platform followed upon which was placed the high altar flanked by the two shrine-altars of St. Dunstan and St. Alphege. Behind the high altar there was—as now—a great flight of steps, at that time ten in number, leading to the chair of St. Augustine set basilican fashion in the centre of the space behind the altar. To the rear of this, in the chapel of the Holy Trinity, was the place where from 1220 was set the great shrine of St. Thomas of Canterbury.

This basilican plan never altered all through the period preceding the Reformation, and to some extent was preserved up until Dean Percy disastrously 'restored' the presbytery in 1825. The shrine of St. Thomas was destroyed in September 1538, but the basic liturgical plan was not tampered with and remained more or less as the twelfth century builders had intended, though it was temporarily disturbed by the Puritan iconoclasts in the mid-seventeenth century.

Prior Henry d'Estria, or Eastry, who ruled the monastery from 1285 to 1331, was responsible for much of the decorative work in the quire. He erected a new set of stalls in 1298 and these remained *in situ* until replaced by pewing in 1704. There were two rows on either side and we know from Thomas Johnson's fine picture painted in 1657 that every stall was fitted with a misericord seat and did not consist merely of flat open bench work. In 1304-5, or very soon after, Eastry had a new pulpitum built, now encased by Prior Chillenden's work of a century later, and the lateral walls around the quire and presbytery were raised to form screens pierced by graceful traceried two-light openings in the Decorated style of Gothic. These screens were continued round the presbytery and sacarium, and to the north and south of the former two very beautiful doorways were made, of which the northern remains, the southern having been replaced in the fifteenth century.

To the south of the first three steps and the narrow landing leading to the high altar Eastry placed new sedilia of three or possibly four seats. These were later ruthlessly modified by the insertion of Archbishop Stratford's tomb about 1348. The two eastern sections remain minus the seats. The high altar, standing on the platform situated in the second bay east of the intersection of the eastern transepts, was flanked to the north and south by altar-shrines of the two sainted archbishops, Dunstan (south) and Alphege (north). After 1381 the tomb of Archbishop Sudbury was placed to the south of St. Dunstan's shrine, and just a century later Cardinal Bouchier had his monument built on the opposite side of the sacarium, to the north of St. Alphege. Both were so constructed so as not to impede the light from the two large side windows in the aisles falling upon the altar itself.

Eastry was also responsible for decorating all three altars in the presbytery and for placing a *tabula* behind or upon the high altar, the first mention we have of any form of reredos. The lateral screens were continued on either side of the steps leading to the marble chair (two bays) and behind the chair itself a lofty iron grill enclosed the sanctuary and divided it from the saint's chapel. This grill, or screen, survived *in situ* until 1748 when it was removed and partially adapted for gates in front of the exterior of the great west door.

From the latter years of the fourteenth century the sanctuary was further enclosed or subdivided by the erection of an altar screen of tabernacle work stretching across the width of the presbytery between the second columns east of the crossing and backing the three altars. This reredos, which from all accounts was a particularly fine piece of work, survived at least until the Civil War, and may have survived in part longer. Johnson's picture, however, shows only the grill at the top of the steps and by 1657 the reredos had quite obviously been removed. Parts may have been replaced after the Restoration and we shall discuss this later.

THE FLOOR LEVELS

The floor levels of the presbytery have been so much altered in the last two and a half centuries that it has not been easy to re-establish them with absolute certainty. However, a fairly accurate assessment can be made from the plan in Somner, and from Johnson's painting. In 1732 a new black and white marble pavement was laid down between the altar rails, which then spanned the presbytery between the eastern crossing piers, and the reredos. This was part of the Nixon bequest and at that time the steps were not only paved with white marble, but their position radically changed. The first three ascents and the narrow landing were removed and one single flight of six steps was formed between the presbytery and the altar platform. It seems likely that the depth of the treads was increased from about five to seven inches high at the time, which would account for the reduction in the number of steps from seven to six. The remains of the ancient treads can be traced at the bottom of the Stratford tomb and it will be seen that the depth is

considerably less than that of the present steps by about two inches. This would surely account for the disparity in the overall number of steps without any appreciable difference in the level of the altar platform; if there is a difference it cannot be more than a couple of inches or so.

The various levels of the medieval sanctuary can be fixed with reasonable certainty by taking into account three things. Firstly, Somner's plan published in 1640 before the Puritan iconoclasm had got under way; secondly, Thomas Johnson's fine picture of the interior of the quire looking east from the pulpitum painted in 1657, which appears to have an almost 'photographic' accuracy; thirdly, the remaining evidence in the presbytery itself, careful observation of which tends to confirm the following theories.

The plan, which was drawn and engraved by Hollar, shows three steps across the quire halfway along the first bay from the intersection with Stratford's tomb immediately to the south of them. There is then a narrow landing of about four feet in depth and a further four steps lead up to the altar platform. These steps are shown adjacent to the first pair of columns east of the intersection and the altar platform extended, as now, the entire width of the second bay. From the painting we can see that immediately behind the altar was a further shallow step on which stood Chillenden's reredos, inserted about 1495, and although by 1657 this had been removed evidently, the position of the two lateral doors on each side of the high altar itself were clearly marked by the artist who depicted the abrasions in the step which could only have been caused by the constant use of many feet over a long period. A further narrow landing, about two feet in depth, separated this from the flight of ten steps in the third bay leading up to the marble chair. The fourth bay, then as now, had a spacious platform on which was placed the throne or chair of Saint Augustine and at the narrowing of the presbytery where it joined the saint's chapel a lofty grill of iron crowned by a carved wooden crest terminated the liturgical chancel of the cathedral.

If we examine Archbishop Stratford's tomb (died 1348) we find the tomb chest itself rests on a plinth which is about five inches high, significantly the average height of a medieval step. The chest is divided into three panels or compartments by shafts, typical of the architectural manners of the time, and in the easternmost the decorative work is cut short at least five inches from the base by what appears very strongly to be the abutment of the second of the first three steps. Further examination of the remains of the sedilia shows that the two upper seats (those nearest the altar) were placed on a parallel level with each other and a third step must obviously have existed at some time on which the actual stalls or seats of the sedilia rested. We shall be returning to this subject later and examining the sedilia in more detail. From this evidence it would appear reasonable to assume that the first step of the sacarium rose in line with the commencement of the second or middle compartment of the Stratford tomb; the second with the easternmost compartment; the third at the termination or end corner of the

tomb itself—the corner shaft is much mutilated near the bottom suggesting that something, perhaps a step, has been removed at some time. The third step abutted the sedilia and formed a narrow landing before the final four steps leading to the altar itself. It may also be that the high altar stood on a single step or footpace, projecting out from the reredos and being not much wider than the width of the altar itself, but of this there is absolutely no remaining evidence and it can only be a matter for speculation.

Although it would seem that we can establish with reasonable certainty the original floor levels, it is not possible to say what sort of stone or other material was used for the sanctuary paving. Gostling, writing in 1777, says that the pavement of the presbytery was formed of large slabs of what appeared to be a kind of marble. It had “so much the appearance of the grain of wood as to be taken by some to be petrification; but when the pavement of marble was laid at the altar (in 1732) and many of the stones of this kind were taken up to make room for it, this notion plainly appeared to be a mistaken one, and many of them were capable of a polish little inferior to that of agate. The edges in curious *strata*, and the tops of many were (*sic*) beautifully clouded.” These stones have since gone altogether, probably removed by Austin, the cathedral surveyor, in the 1830’s, at any rate, ordinary freestone now paves the presbytery. It is not unreasonable to assume, therefore, that the sacrarium in pre-Reformation times must have been paved with materials as rare and beautiful as those in the presbytery. The remains of the step at the base of the Stratford tomb seems to be of Bethersden marble, but it is quite likely that the altar platform itself may have had a tessellated pavement, known as *Opus Alexandrinum*, similar to those which still exist both in front of the site of St. Thomas’s shrine and in the sacrarium of Westminster Abbey. If so, such a pavement may well have been removed when the altars were destroyed in the reign of Edward VI, for Archbishop Parker’s roll makes mention of repairs having been carried out in that part of the church during the years immediately preceding his accession to the primacy in 1559.

THE SEDILIA AND THE LATERAL SCREENS

About the year 1304-5, Prior Henry of Eastry carried through a scheme of enclosing the quire and presbytery with a series of superb parclose screens in stone. Although at first sight they appear to be new work, Willis says that the base of much of this screenwork dates from the period of William the Englishman. The upper parts were added by Eastry and consist of a series of regular two-light openings each having beautiful and elaborate tracery. Above these is a band of carvings containing flowers and various naturalistic foliage and the whole is crowned by an embattlemented crest at a height of fourteen feet above floor level. In the ritual choir the screens run continuously in front of the piers, but in the presbytery they are set back between each column. Eastry’s western screen has been encased by Chillenden’s later pulpitum and the southern doorway from the presbytery to the south-east transept has been replaced, probably during the latter part of the fifteenth century.

However, that on the north remains and is a unique example of early Decorated. It consists of an opening crowned by a double arch, that is, two arches of equal size side by side separated by a pair of pendant bosses, each delicately cusped and supporting in the thickness of the wall a charming ribbed vault of minute proportions, still bearing traces of the medieval colouring.

On the south side of the presbytery the screens have been much altered by the insertion of later archiepiscopal monuments which, perhaps, architectural purists will regret. In the first bay east of the intersection stands the mid-fourteenth century tomb of Archbishop Stratford and between it and the next column is a portion of Eastry's screen divided into two panels or compartments. These panels are richly decorated below the traceried openings with rich diaper work, also bearing the remains of ancient colouring. Below this is a narrow panel of *ogee* mouldings, similar to that on the screens in the third bays, and between these and the present altar steps is a blank panel of stone which looks suspiciously like recent work, perhaps eighteenth or nineteenth century, and put in to make good some earlier damage. The two main panels are divided by three octagonal shafts which now have no bases. They stop short at the spring of the arches in the screen and terminate in florated capitals which may once have supported imagery or some sort of wooden canopy, although the latter is probably unlikely. Above the crest of the screen are the broken remains of two delicate openwork gables, one to each panel, and which possibly ended anciently with finials of some kind. Near the present floor level on the right-hand side abutting the Stratford tomb are the remains of a stone moulding projecting out from the shaft and giving every appearance of having been the arm of a chair or the support of a bench of some kind. This and the fact that the shafting nowhere reaches the floor seems to be of the utmost significance.

Willis passes over this piece of work by saying, "there still remains between the monuments of Stratford and Sudbury some elegant diaper work *which appears to have been part of the decoration of Dunstan's shrine.*" (My italics.) This seems to me to be a rather careless assumption on his part, because upon closer examination of all the evidence nothing of the kind is so easily apparent. On the very same page he unconsciously suggests otherwise when he mentions Parker's description of the Stratford tomb as being *by the steps of St. Dunstan's altar*—the key word in this instance being *by*—and that of Archbishop Sudbury *on the south side of the altar of St. Dunstan*. That is, immediately adjacent to the altar itself. The Sudbury tomb occupies the whole of the next bay and, with that of Bouchier on the north side, flanks the platform of the high altar. This must mean that both the saints' altar-shrines stood in the second bay east of the intersection and on the same level as the high altar itself and not on a somewhat lower level as Willis implied. This is further borne out by the description of Archbishop Bouchier's monument in the deed of sepulture (1481) as situated between the two columns *nearest to the altar of St. Alphege*.

It therefore seems to be conclusive that the diaper work could not have been part of the shrine of St. Dunstan or the reredos of his altar, and it does appear much more likely that it formed the backing of the two easternmost seats of a sedile which was at one time very much larger. It is unthinkable that Canterbury Cathedral should not have been provided with adequate and beautiful sedilia for the ministers at high mass, even though they were subsequently much reduced in size. Nearly every church, however humble, was so provided and we cannot seriously think that Eastry would have allowed such a serious omission when he inserted his screens. Close examination of the panels tends to confirm the assumption that they are the remains of a three or four seat sedile. The remains of the broken stonework at the base certainly imply that benches were once situated here, and the gradation of the old levels seem to support the theory that it did in fact have four seats. The first rested on the lowest step, the second on the next and the two easternmost being on the same level rested on the uppermost of the first three steps of the sacrarium, that forming the narrow landing shown in Somner's plan and Johnson's painting. The remains of the two gables above the screen cresting seem also to indicate places of honour such as those accorded to the priest and deacon at a high mass, and this is a very typical feature of this sort of medieval work. If all this is true, the insertion of Stratford's tomb about 1348 meant that the lower seats, those of the sub-deacon and clerk, were removed at a very early date and do not seem to have been replaced. There are no signs of seating having been attached to the side of the tomb chest. Probably the two upper seats were retained for use and remained *in situ* until the Reformation. It seems likely that they were damaged by the Puritan iconoclasts and finally removed when the steps were rearranged in 1732.

When Eastry erected his screens in the early fourteenth century the need for sepulture in the quire itself by archbishops and others was not a pressing matter. There was no need to disturb the symmetry of the decorative arrangements, there being an abundance of space elsewhere. Both Eastry and a primate of his own time, Walter Reynolds, found resting places in the south quire aisle and Archbishop Winchelsey was entombed in the south-east transept. Archbishop Meopham had his monument placed in the archway leading to St. Anselm's chapel, but by a hundred or so years later all was changed. The sides of the presbytery were lined with monuments, each in itself a remarkable work of art and giving a new interest to the scene, and by the eve of the Reformation space was at a premium. The Eastry scheme by this process was inevitably ruined, a process continued by the Victorians when they removed yet another section of screen on the north side and put in its place the lifeless cenotaph of Archbishop Howley about 1850. The intrusion of tombs has produced an architectural jumble. In itself this adds immensely to the variety and interest of the interior, but grievously detracts from the original purity of Eastry's masterly concept.

THE HIGH ALTAR AND THE SHRINES

We know from Gervase's description of Conrad's quire that the high altar was isolated on three steps at the core of the apse. It was flanked by the two saintly shrines and behind it, raised on eight steps in the centre of the apse itself, was the patriarchal chair. Above the altar was a richly decorated wooden beam bearing the figure of Christ in glory and a series of reliquaries. This beam was supported by the capitals of the two quire piers immediately adjacent and upon two gilt pillars standing at the eastern corners, or 'horns', of the altar. It seems likely that this basic arrangement was perpetuated after the fire of 1174 in the new quire of the two Williams, although on a much grander scale than previously. After 1180 the high altar continued to occupy about the same site as before, and, as before, it was isolated on its own platform. To the rear of this a great flight of ten steps led up to the patriarchal throne, probably a new one to replace the old too badly damaged in the fire. Behind this was the saint's chapel.

Of what sort and size of construction was the medieval altar? In recent years a theory has gained some ground that pre-Reformation altars were invariably of great length, often twelve or fourteen feet at least. While this was true of some places, Tewkesbury Abbey is one instance, it was by no means as widespread a practice as may be imagined and indeed several old altar stones found in the last century or so are comparatively small. Romanesque and early gothic had not so completely broken away from the use of the early Church and side altars at least were often quite small, and continued to be so right down to the Reformation. It seems probable that at no time at Canterbury was the high altar much larger than about ten or eleven feet in width. Bearing in mind that it was flanked immediately to the north and south by the two altar-shrines, it is hardly likely to have measured more than twelve feet at the most. The Westminster *retable* measures eleven feet and may be a good indication of average sizes in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. We can also get some idea of the size from the Johnson painting where the abrasions in the step upon which the destroyed reredos stood, indicating the position of the lateral doors, are well in from the arcades leaving no more than about fifteen feet between them. As the altar stood in front and between it could not have exceeded this measurement and was much more likely to have been proportionately smaller. It may well be that the dimensions of the Victorian altar-table, ten feet, are about right; certainly that leaves ample room for the dignified placing of the two saints' altars on either side.

We do not know what these two altars looked like, no detailed description has come down to us. It seems clear that they stood on the same level as the high altar as we have seen from the discussion on the sedilia. The Sudbury tomb was placed *to the south of St. Dunstan's shrine* level with the platform of the high altar, and a century later Cardinal Bouchier constructed his monument *to the north of the altar of St. Alphege* and opposite Sudbury's. It would seem probable that both shrines were of relatively modest

proportions, perhaps shaped as a normal tomb chest with the western end of each being fashioned as a small altar-table, no bigger than those in the average chantry chapel. It may be that the saints' relics were kept in small feretories of precious metal standing on the rear part of the stone substructures.

Erasmus when describing his visit to Canterbury about the year 1512 states that he and John Colet saw "the reredos and the adornments of the altar and the *things kept under the altar*—all very rich." This latter may mean that the altar itself was of table-form and various relics were placed beneath it, or he may be referring to the room under the steps leading to St. Thomas's chapel which may have been used for the storage of certain of the church's treasures.

THE REREDOS

Probably before Eastry's time the high altar was isolated, or free-standing, although, following the arrangement of Conrad's quire, there may have been a relic beam above it to the east. The practice of having large reredoses is a comparatively late medieval development and did not begin to be widespread until the latter part of the fourteenth century. However, in 1315 Prior Eastry had a new altar-piece, described as a *tabula*, made for the high altar. From contemporary correspondence we get the impression that it consisted of pictures painted on wooden panels set in an elaborate frame. Archbishop Reynolds gave the large sum of £20 towards its completion and in a letter to Eastry strongly denied rumours that he did not like the design! What was this *tabula* like? Probably it consisted of an unequal number of painted or gesso panels depicting appropriate subjects set in a frame which in itself would have been of beautiful and costly design. It is unlikely to have been more than about three feet high and would have been set directly upon or just behind the altar itself against the eastern edge of the *mensa*. Its length would have been governed by that of the holy table and both altar and reredos were likely to have been enclosed by the traditional riddle posts and curtains derived directly from the primitive ciborium. Very few wooden medieval reredoses remain in this country, two notable examples are those at Westminster Abbey and Thornton Parva in Suffolk. There are also later examples in Norwich Cathedral.

From our point of view the *tabula*, or retablo, preserved in Westminster Abbey provides the most helpful comparative example. It dates from about 1290 and may directly have inspired Eastry to provide a similar one for Canterbury. Indeed, the latter may have come from the same workshop or school. Basically it is of oak measuring eleven feet by three, and is decorated with elaborate gesso and designs in coloured glass. It is divided into panels, the centre one containing figures of our Lord and the Virgin with St. John. Sadly they are now much decayed. These figures are enshrined under canopies supported on pilasters which were once richly gilt. On either side are four little compartments or panels having paintings of various of the Gospel miracles and at each end

of the retable was another canopied panel containing the figures of St. Peter and St. Paul. Only St. Peter has survived. The Westminster retable is remarkable, not only for having survived the vicissitudes of the past, but as a unique example of English decorative work of the period. Today it is unique, but at the time of its construction it could hardly have been so, although doubtless always an outstanding example of its kind. It is likely that the Canterbury *tabula* was in every way as costly and beautiful and may even have been part of a calculated attempt to vie with the glories of the royal abbey and its saint, Edward the Confessor.

The Eastry *tabula* was not destined to adorn the quire for very long for between 1394 and 1400 Prior Thomas Chillenden built a great new altar-screen which completely spanned the presbytery between the second pair of columns east of the transepts. This was described by Somner in 1640 as being of "tabernacle work richly overlaid with gold" and we can probably get some rough idea of the general design from Chillenden's *pulpitum* erected at much the same time. The new screen was built at a period when such things were becoming the fashion in our greater English churches. In some places, as at Durham, they consisted of delicate openwork niches for imagery soaring, row on row, to end in a forest of delicate pinnacles at clerestory level. The Neville Screen at Durham Cathedral is fairly early, 1372, and at Beverley Minster a solid wall with comparatively shallow surface decoration forms the reredos and is of the same period. This is of very moderate height, but at Christchurch Priory in Hampshire a huge construction filling the entire space between floor and ceiling presaged what was to happen later at Winchester, St. Alban's and on a smaller scale at Southwark. In all three places the reredos has assumed proportions where it dwarfs the altar and dominates its surroundings with overpowering effect. It constitutes the final medieval *denouement* of the primitive open sanctuary with the holy table standing in isolated majesty. (21.)

With the exception of Beverley, all these examples have lateral doors leading to either a saint's chapel or vestry space behind, and the much lower screen at Westminster Abbey, erected about 1441, follows this pattern. We know from Johnson's painting that the Canterbury screen did as well, for as we have already seen, the abrasions in the step caused by feet passing through the doors are clearly shown on either side of the altar site. What is not known with any certainty is how high the screen was and what it was made of, wood or stone. Caroë in his paper in *Archaeologia*, Vol. 62 (1911), says he and Sir William St. John Hope believed it to have been of stone, although he does not say on what evidence he makes this assertion. Woodruff, however, indicates elsewhere that he thought wood was the material used and he may be basing this assumption on the records quoted by Willis of Chillenden having ornamented the three altars with gold and silver work and *wood curiously carved*. The only remaining major example of a large wooden reredos is that behind the high altar of Chichester

Cathedral, but this is of very late construction dating from about 1510 and known as the *Sherborne Screen*. It is, therefore, very much open to question as to what material was used at Canterbury; if it was stone as Caroë thinks it seems strange that it did not at least partially survive, although it has to be remembered that other stone reredoses have also disappeared, notably at Lichfield and Exeter and also Peterborough, all wantonly demolished by the Cromwellian soldiery.

In the centre of the altar wall, as Leland calls it, was set a new *tabula* of silver-gilt, weighing some 903 lbs. troy, depicting the Holy Trinity and the twelve apostles. The latter were worth £340. Above was an image of the Blessed Virgin given by Chillenden, from which was suspended the Eucharistic pyx, a cup of gold set with precious gems "in the hand of the Virgin for putting in the body of Christ ascending and descending at pleasure". Both Archbishops Courtenay and Arundel contributed to the cost of this work and John Buckenham, Bishop of Lincoln, left £20 for building the high altar, which may mean that a new altar-table was provided at the same time. Richard II gave £1,000, but this must have been towards the cost of the great screen itself and not just the *tabula* which it enshrined. The new altar works were dedicated by Arundel in 1400 and the silver-gilt altar-piece survived until it was confiscated by Edward VI's commissioners in 1549.

We can get some idea of how the reredos appeared from surviving examples elsewhere. It is doubtful whether it was as lofty as those at Winchester and St. Alban's, but it may have reached up to the capitals of the quire arcades, about twenty feet. Some indication is probably given by the height of Bouchier's tomb which is hardly likely to have been loftier.

Accepting the likelihood that the reredos was similar in design to Chillenden's *pulpitum*, it seems probable that it consisted of two or more rows of canopied niches containing statuary, each crowned with elaborate tabernacle work. The lower row would have also contained the lateral doors leading to the patriarchal chair and, at the ends nearest the sides of the *sacrarium*, formed reredoses for the two altar-shrines. In the middle would have probably been a large rectangular panel, as at Winchester, etc., immediately behind and above the altar itself containing the *tabula*. The screen as a whole may have been topped by an open-work, traceried crest and above this seems to have been a great rood decorated with silver—quite distinct from the nave rood—and certain reliquaries. Other reliquaries were placed on top of the grill between the marble chair and St. Thomas's shrine. The screen with its images would have been richly coloured and gilt and perhaps some sort of tester projected over the altar itself, as at Westminster where this arrangement is depicted in the Islip mortuary roll of 1532.

It seems most likely that the screen was defaced under Edward VI and finally destroyed by Colonel Sandys' troopers in 1642, for it is clearly missing from Johnson's very accurate painting done in 1657 and was subsequently replaced by other screens of basically classical design.

THE RITUAL CHOIR

As we have seen, the quire was quickly fitted up by English William so that the monks could use it for the first time at Easter 1180. Presumably the monastic stalls then provided did duty for the next hundred years or so, but in 1298-9 Prior Eastry replaced them with two new double ranges which were destined to survive until 1704. By Eastry's time the monastic community at Christ Church had reached its zenith and the new stalls, able to seat over a hundred monks, were arranged in two rows on each side of the ritual choir. Each individual seat was provided with both curved back and arm rests and a 'tip-up' *misericord*. The back row was elevated a step or so above the front and would have been occupied by the senior or professed monks (sometimes called 'choir' monks), while the junior brethren and the novices would have used the front rows.

It does not seem likely that there were any returned stalls at the west end backing the *pulpitum* until after the Reformation, and probably not until 1684 when the present set was installed. Eastry's original choir screen, which is still *in situ* but enclosed behind the seventeenth century woodwork, appears to have been adorned with a series of large niches for images. From all accounts, the prior had his stall at the east end on the north side and the archbishop's was immediately facing on the south on the site of the present 'throne'. The ritual choir itself terminated at a point parallel to the western piers of the intersection of the quire transepts and the presbytery was reached by an ascent of two steps. (These steps were altered and moved east by about three feet or so in 1706.) Up to that time there was a semi-circular projection from the centre of the lower step on which in all probability the great desk, or lectern, bearing the monastic office books was placed before the Dissolution. This projection has been restored in recent years and the stone slab used may be original. Remarkably, the original grey marble paving laid down in 1180 has also survived.

It would seem that prior to 1704 the archiepiscopal seat was quite a modest affair contemporary with the thirteenth century stalls. It is mentioned by Somner and in 1692 was refurnished with crimson velvet drapes and upholstery from material given by Queen Mary II. Like the ancient stalls, it was replaced a few years later by something much less fitting and infinitely more pretentious, but more suited to the taste and attitude of the time. No detailed description of this venerable *sedes-in-choro* has survived so we have little idea of how it must have looked. All we know for certain is that it was of "ancient character" and modest design.

Before and after the Reformation the organ appears to have been positioned in the centre arch on the north side of the ritual choir, placed behind and above Eastry's screen. Here successive instruments remained until a new position was found on the *pulpitum* towards the end of the eighteenth century.

THE REFORMATION ONWARDS

The changes brought about by the Dissolution of the Monasteries under Henry VIII were only the first steps towards a greater and more general havoc wrought in our cathedrals and churches under the boy-king, Edward VI. Culturally, there are few periods in our national history blacker than the ill-starred reign of the young Edward, for the great acquisition of our first two Prayer Books hardly atones for the loss of so much that was good and beautiful.

Canterbury did not escape the holocaust, for as early as 1549 the magnificent silver *tabula* of the high altar was taken into royal custody in the same way that St. Thomas's golden shrine had eleven years before. Soon after this the altars themselves were destroyed, being replaced by a solitary wooden 'holy table' set in the centre of the presbytery.

With Mary Tudor's accession in 1553 a short lived Catholic reaction saw altars restored and the Latin mass once again celebrated in place of the new Prayer Book rites. But by 1559 Mary was dead and Protestantism in the ascendancy again with her younger half-sister Elizabeth on the throne in her stead.

FROM THE ELIZABETHAN SETTLEMENT TO THE GREAT REBELLION

The new government's moderate policies led to change at a slower and less violent pace than that under Edward or Mary. Gradually stone altars and other features of medieval worship fell into disuse and were removed. Wooden 'holy tables' once again appeared in the chancels, often set where the altar had stood, and usually covered with a pall or "decent carpet", as the Canons of 1604 call the altar covering, of suitable stuff. At the time of Communion they were removed to the midst of the chancel set lengthways east and west, or set before the chancel door in the body of the church. The communicants would gather about them for the Eucharist which the Reformers regarded as a corporate act of worship in which all should fully participate.

In 1563, in answer to Archbishop Matthew Parker's visitation articles, the dean and chapter gave details of how they normally celebrated divine service. They said, "The Common Prayer daily throughout the year, though there be no Communion, is sung at the communion table standing north and south where the high altar did stand; the minister when there is no Communion useth a surplice only, standing at the east side of the table with his face to the people. The Holy Communion is ministered ordinarily the first Sunday of every month throughout the year; at that time the table is set east and west. The priest which ministereth, the pystoler and gospeler at that time wear copes." This is an interesting passage for it gives some idea of the liturgical arrangements at Canterbury during the early years of Elizabeth's reign. The practice of facing the people over the table, even though only for the Ante-communion, is significant in the light of modern liturgical developments. Cranmer's odd use of making the priest who celebrated at

the Communion itself stand on the north side of the altar seems clearly to have been adhered to and the table at that time was set lengthways, east and west. However, it is not clear whether it was moved down from the altar-platform into the centre of either the presbytery or choir, or left towards the east end. It may well be that the latter obtained with the table merely turned round to face the 'wrong' way while remaining on the altar place.

History makes no further mention of the sanctuary appointments until the time of Archbishop Laud who in 1633 held a visitation. The dean reported that the altar had been set at the east end of the quire and decently railed in as required by the archbishop. It seems that a new table was actually provided, mounted on a platform of three wooden steps or 'ascents', in line with Bishop Andrewes' model and the practice of the archbishop himself in his chapel at Lambeth. It cost thirty shillings. The altar was provided with a new covering of rich purple velvet edged with deep gold lace costing the large sum of £36 7s. 0d., and behind the altar was a back cloth or dossal of needlework of gold and silver thread. This seems to have been suspended from the medieval reredos and may well have covered up some defacement or damage done when the silver *tabula* was removed in 1549. The arch-Puritan, Richard Culmer, in his notorious *Cathedrall Newes from Canterbury*, published in 1644, described it as being of "very rich embroidery of gold and silver, the name Jehovah on the top in gold upon a cloth of silver, and below it a semi-circle of gold, and from thence glorious rays, and clouds, and gleams, and points of rays direct and waved streamed downwards upon the altar." Chapter also spent considerable sums on new altar plate which included a large dish and a pair of fine silver candlesticks, all of which disappeared during the Commonwealth. This was used for the first time at Christmas 1633, for one of the city aldermen recorded in his diary that it was the first day of the new high altar in the cathedral, complete with candlesticks with candles in them, a sight he found "very brave".

Such reforms in decency and order were far from acceptable to the rampant puritanism of Kent and were thought to be offensive and popish. By 1642 the Civil War was well under way and a Parliamentarian troop under Colonel Sandys visited Canterbury, wreaking considerable havoc in the cathedral including the desecration of the altar. The vice-dean of the time, Dr. Paske, records that they "defaced the goodly screen of tabernacle work" and tore books and surplices, discharging their muskets at stained glass and carved work indiscriminately. Less than two years later even greater damage was done under a so-called 'commission' led by the infamous 'Blue Dick' Culmer, who personally smashed as much of the priceless stained glass as he could reach. It may well be that at this time the altar-screen was finally destroyed, for, as we have seen, it was not depicted in Johnson's painting of the quire interior.

In 1664, after the restoration of church and king, the medieval reredos was replaced by a new one, this time made of wood. It was constructed by one Christopher Hartover of Deptford, who undertook "to make and set up such addition of joined and carved work to be wrought and done in wainscot as are now in any parts wanting to the full completing and perfecting of the screen now standing and being on the ascent at the east end of the quire." At the same time the altar itself was to be furnished with a new frontal of cloth put into a "goodly frame" coloured and painted. This was to replace the covering of purple velvet, by which is perhaps meant that provided in Laud's time.

This extract from Hartover's letter to the chapter poses a problem, for he talks about completing a screen already in existence. We know from the Johnson painting that the medieval screen had gone prior to 1657, so to which screen does he refer? Perhaps there may be one of two answers. Either that at the Restoration in 1660 Chapter had set up some bits and pieces of medieval screen work taken from elsewhere in the church as a temporary reredos, or Hartover had been commissioned to build a smaller one before 1664 which he was subsequently called upon to extend. Caroë thought the latter was most probable because there are records of £30 having been paid to Hartover in 1660 for work in the quire and one of the first things undertaken at that time was the setting up of the altar again. Gostling, writing just over a century later, refers to this screen as having been used as a lining to the new reredos erected in 1730. He says, "it is handsomely adorned with painting and gilding, and of a design which some would think more suitable to a gothic cathedral than the new one". From this it might be safe to conclude that it contained gothic work and Stoner's plate of the Trinity Chapel taken from the corona and drawn in 1816 definitely bears this out. It shows gothic style panelling lining the back of the great classical reredos, set in a rather rude classical frame reminiscent more of the reign of James I than Charles II, and having figures painted in each of the panels. From what little we know of Hartover it seems he was no architect, nor indeed much of an artist, and his work however good as carpentry, would perhaps have been lacking in great artistic merit. (31.)

A drawing of the quire by Dart in 1726 shows the altar on its ancient site backed by a lofty screen which included a tester over the altar itself. In 1694 Thomas Lingall was paid 14s. 6d. for "a new canopy and two new pillars to bear it". The central part was much loftier than the side compartments of this reredos which appear to be of definite gothic character. In the picture, the canopy is supported on classical style columns, going up to twice the height of the rest of the screen and, at the rear, there seems to have been some mullions and tracery work between the actual altar-piece and the canopy itself. The sides look as though they followed ancient precedent by having lateral doors. The altar was then about seven feet wide, no more, and was vested in a rectangular shaped frontal,

not a pall or 'throwover', and behind was a dossal of paned or striped material set in a frame like a picture. The altar rails stood on the highest of the first three steps of the *sacrarium* and were shown as being fairly massive traceried work, not the more usual balusters. Their detail looks like gothic and they may have been old woodwork re-used as rails. In 1693 Queen Mary II gave some rich velvet and gold paned material to make new coverings for the altar, throne and pulpit, which cost more than £500, a vast sum in those days. It must have been quite sumptuous and one wonders what fate eventually befell it. In the early 1660's chapter made good the loss of the altar plate during the Commonwealth and new candlesticks were provided which were in regular use until 1968.

Gostling also mentions that formerly there had been a 'sun' or 'glory' over the altar. It was 'raised on a post supported by cherubims of carved work, painted and gilt, with expanded wings on the foot and each side'. Caroë tells us that this was removed by Archbishop Tillotson when he was dean in 1680. He felt that such a decoration was not wholly suitable for a Protestant place of worship! Gostling saw it stored away with other lumber in Henry IV's chantry, but it has since disappeared.

In 1674 Chapter engaged Roger Davis to enclose Eastry's lateral screens with wainscot panelling in a classical design. This was considered so successful that in 1682 he was given the additional task of providing sumptuous new capitular stalls, returned at the west end of the quire. They may contain carving by Gibbons, but this is not certain. Nevertheless, they are among the finest pieces of classical woodwork in the country, magnificently carved with floral swags, putti and the coats of arms of the royal house, the see and the chapter. Because these stalls enclose the eastern face of Eastry's choir screen, Sir Gilbert Scott strongly recommended their removal during the 1870's. Fortunately either lack of funds, or timidity on the part of Chapter prevented this from happening and they have survived intact to an age better able to appreciate their true value and beauty than the Victorian gothic revivalists.

Davis's panelling not only made the unheated quire warmer in winter, but according to the taste of the time was an elegant addition to its furnishings. It completely covered the fourteenth century screen work and consisted of large panels subdivided by fluted pilasters with Corinthian capitals. Swags and garlands were carved over each section and the top was coved to form a shallow canopy over the rear stalls. The scheme is well depicted in Wild's view of the interior published in 1816, this is reproduced in Woodruff & Dank's *Memorials*, p. 347.

Perhaps because of the undoubted elegance of the panelling, the next large-scale 'improvement' was one which must have directly resulted but which today is regarded as a deeply regretted act of well intentioned vandalism. In 1704 the ancient choir stalls were entirely removed, together with the archiepiscopal seat, and replaced by "neat and convenient" pewing designed to match the wainscot work. Archbishop Tenison gave a new 'throne', the

beautiful canopy of which with its six great Corinthian pillars in carved oak survives at the west end of the nave. About a couple of years later the two ancient steps leading from the ritual choir to the presbytery were removed eastwards by about three and a half feet. No clear reason for doing this is now apparent. The great brass eagle lectern of 1662 was set up in the midst of the choir at the east end near its present position.

Probably none of these alterations would be seriously considered today. They were basically unjustifiable and certainly vandalistic, being just as well intentioned and as bad as any of the 'restorations' undertaken by the Victorians. The pews had the dubious merit that they made for uniformity of design and were warmer, but it is difficult to see what advantage was gained by altering the steps, either in the choir in 1706, or later in the *sacrarium* in 1732. However the taste for 'improvements' went on unabated throughout this period for 1730 saw the installation of a grandiose new reredos in the Corinthian style, replacing Hartover's. This was designed by Sir James Burroughs, Master of Gonville & Caius College, Cambridge, an amateur architect of dubious merit, and paid for by a legacy left by Dr. Grandorge, one of the prebendaries. In Wild's picture this reredos appears as an immense structure rising up to the capitals of the arcades and displaying massive classical styling. It had a large central pedimented gable supported on two pairs of Corinthian columns. This was richly carved and was topped by a series of urns. The side sections were straight topped and contained lateral doors, repeating the medieval arrangement. Behind the altar itself was a large glazed opening of 'Venetian' type, giving a view of the steps behind. This had at first been filled in with a panel of embroidered velvet. The altar itself, never very large at this period, was dwarfed by this great screen, which seems to have been inspired indirectly by the gothic masterpieces at Winchester and St. Alban's.

Some little time later, in 1732, the Nixon bequest provided funds for paving the *sacrarium* with black and white marble slabs and the ancient disposition of the altar steps was altered so that the graduated flight of seven became a single flight of six steps between the first pair of columns east of the intersection. The steps themselves were of fine white marble while the pavement by the rails and at the altar was in a chequerboard design of black and white. The altar rails are shown by Wild to have been in the presbytery during this period, about six to eight feet *in advance* of the steps and a little east of the crossing piers. They were now of baluster type, apparently.

Burrough's great screen cost £500 and was made of oak. Undenially it was impressive, although artistically leaving much to be desired. It provided a uniform termination to the scheme of classical fittings in the quire, the atmosphere of which had as a result become not little like that of a university college chapel. Indeed, the whole is reminiscent of the interior of the chapel at Trinity College, Cambridge and there may have been some link. The additional wainscotting inserted in the presbytery at the same time as the reredos, concealing the ancient monuments from view,



looks as though it was very similar to the stalls at Trinity. This and the reredos survived ninety-five years until removed during the first of the nineteenth century series of 'restorations' in 1825.

THE NINETEENTH AND TWENTIETH CENTURIES

Regrettably, nineteenth century work here has generally been very second rate. The first 'restoration' as such was undertaken in 1825 by the exertions of Dean Hugh Percy, later Bishop of Rochester. An *addendum* to Gostling's book, which was re-issued in that year, tells us that the dean got George Austin, the cathedral surveyor, to design a new reredos. This was made of Caen stone and copied from the fifteenth century screens in the crypt Lady Chapel. It was prepared secretly and immediately erected as soon as Chapter agreed to the proposed changes. It was placed at the top of the steps leading to the marble chair where the quire narrows to join the Trinity chapel, and the chair itself removed to the corona. A new altar-table was placed in front of it on the site of the chair. Burrough's great screen was dismantled, part of the older screen which had backed it was taken to Adisham Church where it can still be seen.

A picture by an unknown artist, drawn about 1840, shows how the quire looked at that time. The ancient marble paving is flanked by the eighteenth century pewing, which had three rows on either side, with additional seats for the choristers and open benches along the fronts. Davis's wainscot was removed by Dean Percy in 1825, so the Eastry screen work is again visible. Tenison's lofty throne remains in position, but is not balanced by a pulpit. Butterfield's comparatively simple effort was to be inserted a few years later, about 1848. No altar rails are shown: new gothic rails were presented by Dr. Spry, a prebendary, in 1848 as a memorial to his wife. They remained until Dean Farrar had had some massive brass ones in a renaissance style erected about 1900. Austin's reredos is shown consisting of thirteen open compartments, equally divided by mullions and transoms, each being under its own sharply pointed gable head decorated profusely with crockets and pinnacles. The panels, which were glazed, were loftier in the centre and had *ogee* arches, cusped, in the upper divisions. The altar, still no bigger than its predecessor, is shown vested in a sort of looped-up or draped frontal (which may be artist's licence), and is adorned with two books. No other furniture is shown nearby and it stands isolated against the screen.

A photograph in the author's possession, taken about 1880 and reproduced opposite, shows this screen in some detail. The later Victorian altar has not yet been put in position, although Scott's stalls are in the foreground, and the earlier altar is now vested in a typical gothic revival frontal worked with a central cross. It is flanked by two heavy oak chairs facing west, and has the Restoration candlesticks set on a small gradine or 'super-altar' behind it. A book with embossed covers is placed between them.

The Austin screen was not generally approved of and Beresford Hope caustically described it as "the specimen of confectionary Perpendicular which the late Mr. Austin inflicted on Canterbury Cathedral". It was poor and flimsy in design, but unlike Bernasconi's plaster creation at Westminster, it was of sound workmanship and lasted until 1920 when it was quietly removed. About 1897 C. E. Kempe was engaged to fill in and decorate the panels with colour. He also treated Eastry's screens on either side of the sanctuary in the same way.

Austin inflicted another of his perpendicular creations on the cathedral in 1844 when he designed the new choir throne given by Archbishop Howley. Sadly this essay in pretentiousness has so far escaped removal. It is a vast affair, like some sugary cake decoration, completely hiding a large section of Eastry's screen. The sort of panelled 'bird-bath' in which the primate has his chair is topped by a deep overhanging canopy, elaborately vaulted, and crowned in turn by a soaring spire rising to about thirty feet. The architectural detail has been unashamedly copied from the empty niches in the chapel of Our Lady Martyrdom. The whole thing has no originality and is a complete sham.

As we have already seen, new stalls after Scott's designs were provided in 1878-9 at a cost of £8,000. Scott probably designed the new altar as well which was put in position in December, 1880, eighteen months after his death. It was much larger than the one it replaced, being ten feet wide, and was executed in Italian walnut and ebony by the famous firm of Farmer and Brindley. The style adopted was designed to harmonize with that of the quire and the altar front consisted of four trefoiled arched panels set between richly moulded and gilt shafts. These apertures were filled with angel mosaics after Fra Angelico in October, 1882. The altar was backed by a gradine or shelf of alabaster and marble set with polished stalagmite and the East Grinstead Sisters were commissioned to make a rich crimson velvet covering. The frontlet of this was worked with angels bearing emblematic shields in silk and gold thread. In 1887 Canon Rawlinson gave a large silver-gilt cross set with about two hundred precious and semi-precious stones and later followed this with two large brass standard candlesticks. More altar plate subsequently followed from this source and Mrs. Rawlinson, together with a team of ladies, worked two very fine embroidered frontals. Both altar and gradine were removed in 1977 when the *sacrarium* was reordered: the altar is now laid by in St. Andrew's chapel and Dean Farrar's altar rails have also been replaced.

ANTHONY READER-MOORE.

THE END OF THE FAIR

In the early pages of *My Life*, Thomas Sidney Cooper gives a vivid impression of the 18th century Michaelmas Fair in the Cathedral precincts. His memories are those of a small and obviously very interested boy; his words those of an adult tempered by time.

“Under the windows of the nave, between the buttresses, the vendors of whips displayed their goods, and they, joining with the purchasers of their wares in cracking, snapping and hooting, raised a most discordant concert. This and the hubbub caused by the swinging boats, the merry-go-rounds, and other amusements, the shouting, kissing and screaming of the crowds, all took place under the lofty spires and pinnacles of Christ Church Cathedral. O Shade of Lanfranc! Could you have seen this noisy abomination, this countless mass of humanity gathered from all quarters of East Kent, buying and selling, crowding and jostling amongst the infinite variety of goods heaped up in rows of great length, or streaming like ants to and fro, what would you have thought?”

Whatever the shade of Lanfranc may have thought, the Dean and Chapter were very worried indeed. In September 1810 the Dean, Dr. Gerrard Andrewes, had written to the Surveyor of the Fabric, Jesse White:

“Sir, I have some reason to suppose that the wish of the Dean and Chapter to suppress the *Improper* conduct of disorderly persons is perversely misunderstood to be an intention wholly to prevent the Fair this year; it is therefore necessary to state that so far from it, Their wish is to admit the Sale of such merchandize as shall in any way contribute to the Benefit of the people of Canterbury, whose interest they have much at Heart; but they find themselves called upon from so many quarters to preserve order and decency in the Precincts, as well as to attend to the feelings of many persons who have expressed themselves greatly shocked that a Churchyard, where many perhaps of their friends lie buried, should become a place licenced for every kind of indecent practices; that they think Themselves justified in refusing admittance to public exhibitions of every kind, whether of Wild Beasts, Puppet shews—Tumblers—Jugglers—Shews—Roundabouts—Savings—together with Stalls for selling Liquor, and all such kind of things by which riot and disorder are often promoted. Not doubting of the concurrence of every fair Trader, as well as of all peaceable & well meaning persons in preventing what must be a nuisance to *them* as well as others, they have given orders to prevent the evil complained of as much as possible; and doubt not of your care and exertion to see them carried into effect.”

Times and ideas had changed radically since the year 1383 when King Richard II granted to the prior and convent of Canterbury the right to hold four yearly fairs within their priorate, and when the local churchyard was the natural and accepted place to hold such events. Like the church itself, it was a meeting place and remained



The Cathedral from the South West

so until men's minds were overtaken by puritanical ideas of its sanctity. The four fairs were held on the festivals of the Holy Innocents (28 December), the vigil of Pentecost, the vigil of the Translation of St. Thomas the Martyr (6 July) and the vigil of Michaelmas (28 September) so were fairly well spread out throughout the year. Each fair lasted ten days and was held "within the site of the saide Cathedral and Metropolitall Church and in the Yarde within the Southe Gate there" in the space "from the saide Southe Gate extendinge to another Gate there called the Sanctuarie Gate and no further". This area corresponds to that of the people's cemetery which extended from the Christ Church Gate to the gateway of the monks' cemetery in the wall running across from the plumbery to the cathedral. It is a very large area as is evident from T. Sidney Cooper's account, and was fully used. For the most part, the area was gravelled because it was also occasionally used in the eighteenth and nineteenth century for drilling soldiers.

Over the years, the fairs were leased out to various lessees. The lessees took what profits they could make from the four fairs and paid the Prior and Chapter, and later the Dean and Chapter a rent for their lease, and a computed fine on its renewal. The lessees rented out the standings for fairly small sums to stallagers who had the right to "pyck and digg the soyle and Earthe in the saide yarde and other places onelie for erectinge and settinge up Boothes and Standinges there".

All four fairs were still in operation in 1605/6 when a lease for seven years was granted to Thomas Norton of Fordwich, gentleman who had had previous leases from at least 1585. Sometime between 1605 and 1810 the first three fairs were discontinued. It is not at all clear exactly when this happened, but it was probably during the Commonwealth period when fairs associated with saints were frowned upon. The Michaelmas Fair alone continued. From 1752 the Michaelmas Fair was held from 10 October (that is 11 days after Michaelmas according to the new calendar then introduced) and lasted for three market days. This remained the case until 1813. If the fair started on a market day it finished on a market day. If not, it continued through three market days and hence might last longer in some years than others. This fair was also known as the Jack and Joan Fair because it was here that farmers and others hired their servants and labourers for the following year.

Thomas Norton paid a rent of £9 18s. od. (£9.90) a year for his lease granted in 1585, but only £3 16s. Od. (£3.80) for his 1605/6 lease. This would suggest that the profits of the fairs were decreasing. In 1809 the rents for stalls were collected and retained by the keeper of the Christ Church gate, Mr. Springall. No-one, least of all the Dean and Chapter, appeared to know how this had come about, but certain it is that when questioned he agreed that he had collected on an average ten pounds in stall tolls from the traders over the last few years. Tolls were fairly low, and since about 1780 had been 2s. 6d. (12½p) and 3s. 6d. (17½p).

At the Midsummer Chapter in 1810, the Dean and Chapter decided to accept responsibility for the running of the fair, and

asked Jesse White to see that their orders for the prevention of nuisance and improper use of the churchyard were carried out. This was obviously of little effect for after making legal enquiries in 1811, in 1812 the Dean and Chapter ordered that puppet shows were to be excluded from the fair and hinted that they might refuse to hold the fair in the Cathedral Yard in the future. There was a general outcry at this, particularly among tradesmen living near the gate who considered that they benefited considerably from the fair. They threatened that if the Dean and Chapter did not hold the fair, they would erect standings in the Cathedral Yard "to try the validity of such refusal".

Determined to proceed, the Dean and Chapter asked their Auditor, Thomas Starr, at the Michaelmas audit 1812 to "take a legal opinion with respect to the power which the Dean and Chapter may possess, and the best means they can take of putting an end to the Fair in the Precincts". Their case was based on the fact that although the fair had dwindled considerably to little more than stalls for the sale of gingerbread and other trifling articles, as it was held at Michaelmas it did attract a vast number of people, many of whom had exhibited so much gross indecency and tumultuous conduct that they wished to exclude the fair from the Precincts in future. Could they refuse to hold the fair? If not, could they prevent it by raising the stallage tolls?

Mr. Sergeant Shepherd to whom they submitted their case, replied on 26 August 1813 that if the Dean and Chapter wished to give up their franchise and not hold the fair, they were quite at liberty to do so. If the fair was not proclaimed it could not legally be held, and no-one could have the right to erect standings there. He added that they should advertise the fact that they did not intend to hold the fair and that no-one would be admitted to erect standings. They could charge what they liked for standings, though he considered it would be better not to raise the tolls as this might be misinterpreted as a desire for undue profit. He suggested they might restrict the fair to the sale of commodities and so allow it to fade out, or use peace officers to quell the tumult.

The notices were duly published but the fair still took place. The *Kentish Gazette* reported on Tuesday, 12 October: "Jack and Joan Fair. The Annual Michaelmas Fair, customarily held in the Cathedral-Yard of this city, commenced yesterday, notwithstanding the notice published by the Dean and Chapter against the introduction of certain usual accompaniments of a fair, and in defiance of the Peace Officers placed at the gates to prevent their intrusion." It added somewhat prophetically "This proceeding, it is expected, will bring to issue the question of the right of the Dean and Chapter to suppress this Fair, either by force or by exacting such a toll for a standing as shall virtually have the same effect."

Three days later on 15 October the same paper reported that the stall tolls had indeed been increased, and to the extraordinarily high rate of 10s. (50p) and 12s. (60p). Tradesmen with shops near the Christ Church gate who claimed they paid higher rents for the contiguity of their businesses to the fair petitioned the City Court of

Burghmote for redress, seeking to ascertain the right of the Dean and Chapter to charge such high tolls, and to suppress the fair. The Court at first thought to protect the rights of its citizens, but when the members had heard the opinion of Mr. Sergeant Shepherd and discussed it with the Recorder of the city, they dismissed the petition telling the traders that the Dean and Chapter were quite within their rights to do both. "Thus" the paper somewhat erroneously concluded "after a duration of nearly six hundred years (for its origin may be dated from Becket's Translation in 1220) has this custom been suspended; but as the benefit it has annually created to the trade of Canterbury, and consequently to all classes, even that of the church itself, whose estates have been increased in value by the great influx of population and wealth, it is to be hoped that ere the ensuing Michaelmas some plan will be adopted to prevent the expenditure necessarily occasioned at that period, being diverted into other channels." For the remainder of the 1813 fair, only a few stalls were set up in the Precincts and the fun fair and merry-go-round were installed on Lady Wootton's Green "whither the Jacks and Joans have resorted for their amusement" reported the *Kentish Gazette*.

At midsummer 1814 the Dean and Chapter published an order banning the Michaelmas Fair from the Precincts and in consequence, the Court of Burghmote offered the cattle market as an alternative site. The fair was an instant and fantastic success. The *Kentish Gazette* reported "The annual Michaelmas Fair . . . was this year, for the first time, transferred to the Cattle Market formed under the city wall in the space between St. George's Gate and Riding Gate. . . . The Fair commenced on Tuesday last, and had a large number of booths of various descriptions of merchandise, toys, etc., with all the suitable concomitants of fun and merriment. In one quarter, the renowned company of the celebrated *Mann* attracted, by their inimitable "mimes and pantomimes" the attention of the rustics, while in another, the no less wonderful "*Herman Boaz the first Conjuror in the World*" astonished by "all the magic motion of the scene descriptiosive and sublime". The more polished spectators, who permitted the delusion of one sense, for the gratification of another—in fact, the concourse assembled during the last week, and particularly on Saturday, encreased, no doubt by the extraordinary serenity of the weather, exceeded in number any within the memory of the oldest inhabitants. The Fair itself was a multitude through which it was impossible to penetrate. . . ."

So ended the fairs and roundabouts in the Cathedral Precincts. A small commodity fair continued for some years and was held for the last time in 1826.

ANNE M. OAKLEY.

I should like to thank the Editor of the "Kentish Gazette" for allowing me to use extracts from the paper.

LOST, STOLEN OR STRAYED

The sad story of the Canterbury tapestries at Aix-en-Provence

The sixty years that preceded the dissolution of the great Benedictine monastery of Christ Church Canterbury were made eventful by additions to the fabric of the cathedral and ornaments, which have endured, despite everything, to our own time.

Bell Harry, the "Queen of Towers", was completed by 1502, and the Christ Church Gate, with its brilliant heraldic façade, followed between 1507 and 1517. Inside, the Royal Window of the Martyrdom was inserted, with its portraits of the Royal Family of the (temporarily) triumphant Yorkist dynasty, about 1480, and then, in 1511 a magnificent set of tapestries, made in all probability in Flanders, were hung on each side of the Quire above the stalls of the monks; the gift of Prior Thomas Goldstone II and Dom Richard Dering the cellarer of the monastery (the Prior's gift was hung on the south side and the cellarer's gift on the north). Strange to relate, they remained there undisturbed by the troubles of the Reformation, for nearly a century and a half, until they attracted the unfavourable attention of the Puritan soldiery, in August 1642, who tore them down and mutilated them by sword thrusts. In due course, with other valuable and beautiful ornaments, they were sent up to London to be sold for the benefit of Cromwell's government, and at some stage in the proceedings sent over to Paris where they were seen, and in due course purchased, by one Canon Bonfils on behalf of his chapter for the Cathedral of St. Sauveur in Aix-en-Provence; the sum paid being over 1,200 ecus. Sent down to Provence, they were hung over the stalls of the canons, and in the south aisle of the cathedral, where they could be seen until a year or so ago. Altogether there were 26 scenes; eight concerned with the life of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the rest with the birth, ministry, crucifixion, resurrection, ascension of Christ, and with the gift of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost, and the Last Judgement. For a time it was believed in France that these tapestries had belonged originally to St. Paul's Cathedral in London; but an examination of the numerous coats of arms woven in the borders of the scenes now makes it clear that these are the Canterbury tapestries hung in our quire in 1511, and since the arms of the monastic Chapter appear in the borders, as well as the See of Canterbury impaling Becket, Morton, Deane and Warham, together with the Royal Arms of England for Henry VIII.

In 1933 an article about the tapestries appeared in the Sixth Report of the Friends, and soon after this, Miss Noel Edwards (later Mrs. Hewlett Johnson) visited the Cathedral at Aix-en-Provence, and made beautiful copies of the scenes depicting the entry into Jerusalem and the washing of the disciples' feet. These still can be seen hanging in the north aisle of our cathedral.

In 1977 the tapestries were moved to the galleries of the (former) Archbishop's Palace at Aix-en-Provence for an exhibition; and to mark the occasion a beautiful catalogue was issued with a great deal of information about the tapestries and their origin. This was illustrated with a series of excellent colour reproductions of them all. (Copies of this catalogue can be seen in our cathedral library.)

All this seems to have drawn the attention of the art world (and the thieves who hover around it) to a great artistic treasure with disastrous consequences. In due course, the exhibition having ended, the tapestries were returned to their former place in the cathedral quire, and in the midsummer of 1978 thieves climbed up a scaffolding, which had been set up for purposes of restoring the stone work of the west front of the cathedral, entered the building, and removed nine of the twenty-six panels which have vanished entirely from view. No doubt they intended to remove them all, but reports from the police in England (who have been informed of the theft and apprised of what is still missing) make it clear that seventeen panels still exist in Aix-en-Provence, stored away for safety, until such time as burglar alarms can be installed in the cathedral and they can be rehung safely.

One can only speculate as to where the missing panels are, whether they will ever be seen again, and what sort of connoisseur or art collector exists, so unscrupulous that he or she is prepared to buy and hide stolen property of such beauty and historical importance. In due course they may re-appear, but in the meantime I advise interested visitors to Aix from Canterbury, to ascertain beforehand whether any of these tapestries are again on exhibition or not. Otherwise they may have a lost journey—as I did last September—and have to console themselves with visiting a small cathedral which has some fine pictures, an interesting cloister and baptistry, and some magnificent carved doors—but no Canterbury tapestries on view.

DEREK INGRAM HILL.

THE CHOIR LECTERN

Brass lecterns appear to have been rare in English churches before the last quarter of the fifteenth century and all those which survive from before that date are of Continental origin. Sometime about 1470 an enterprising founder began to make them in England and between that date and 1530 did a brisk business and, even now, over forty survive up and down the country. They belonged to two types, one surmounted by a double desk for use by the choir, the other with an eagle for reading the gospel. The lectern presented to Christ Church by Prior Goldstone (1494-1517) belonged to the latter type. After the Dissolution of the Monasteries the brass lecterns were at risk; some migrated from a dissolved monastery to a neighbouring parish church, others were bought by Italian merchants and shipped abroad. Another wave of destruction followed in the reign of Elizabeth I. Archbishop Parker was opposed to this senseless destruction and probably intervened on behalf of Prior Goldstone's eagle. His attitude is shown in a letter to Lord Burghley (15 November, 1573). It reads: "The world is much given to innovations; never content to stay to live well. In London our fons go down, and our brazen eagles which were ornaments in the chancel and made for lectures, must be molten to make pots and basins to new fons." The end of the Canterbury lectern came in August 1642 when it was broken up by Colonel Sandys' troopers.

A few brass lecterns were made during the reign of Charles I, all cast from the same wooden models. The earliest batch of lecterns provided after the Restoration are all signed by William Burroughes of London. They follow the medieval traditions. The earliest, dated 1661, is at Wells Cathedral and has a double desk with an elaborate cresting. Its pedestal is similar to those used by Burroughes for his eagle lecterns. The earliest of these is at Queen's College, Oxford, and is dated 1662. The Canterbury example is dated 1663, whilst the one at Lincoln Cathedral is dated 1667. The Oxford lectern is supported on four lion sejants but the Canterbury and Lincoln ones have only three. Those supporting the Wells lectern are cast from different models.

Burroughes could well afford to deal in slow-selling goods like lecterns, since he was in a big way of business with an address in Lothbury. He had become free of the Founders' Company in 1626 and served as Master in 1657/8 and again in 1659/60. He subscribed £10 towards the rebuilding of Founders' Hall after the Great Fire and held the office of "City Founder". Thomas Fuller (*Worthies*) tells us that "he devised a fire-engine which was a great improvement on the Nuremberg one". At the time when Fuller wrote he had sold three score, priced £35.

In 1726 the Canterbury lectern was standing in the middle of the choir facing south. Sometime before 1772 it was relegated to the library. It re-emerged in the nineteenth century to take its present position in the choir facing west.

CHARLES OMAN.

BOOK REVIEWS

THE EARLY STAINED GLASS OF CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL circa 1175-1220

by

MADELINE HARRISON CAVINESS

(Princeton University Press, 1977)

Even the casual visitor to Canterbury Cathedral becomes aware that the church contains some remarkable stained glass. Those of us who live here and who go into the cathedral day by day find in the windows a constant source of inspiration and delight. How good it is to know that these great achievements of medieval art attract the careful scrutiny and attention of scholars like Professor Caviness of Tufts University in the United States of America. This most recent study of the early stained glass of Canterbury bears eloquent witness to many years of patient and painstaking research.

The book contains two chapters on the method of study employed, one in relation to problems of the restoration and authenticity of the glass, the other in relation to the analysis of its style and ornament. The windows themselves are examined chronologically; three periods are discerned within the half century from 1175 to 1220. The writer is particularly concerned to relate the work at Canterbury to contemporary work in Northern France, and to trace the transition from the Romanesque style into Gothic.

Not all readers will want to follow all the aspects of this study. Some will be fascinated by its account of the vicissitudes through which the windows have passed in the eight centuries of their history. Others doubtless will be attracted by the detailed discussion of the dating of particular pieces and the stylistic influences to be recognised in them. For myself it was the discussion of the theological significance of the windows and of the meaning of their over-all plan which proved particularly enthralling.

For here in the Cathedral we have a great work of medieval theology; not the scholastic theology of the high middle ages which reached its climax in the work of such masters as St. Thomas Aquinas, but the somewhat earlier monastic theology of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, which is so vividly described by Dom Jean Leclercq in his book *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God*. This was a theology which used images rather than concepts, which was nourished on the pages of the Bible as they came to life in the Church's worship. It was a theology in which thought and devotion went hand in hand; the product of the life and activity of monastic communities. Yet it was also a theology which respected and appreciated human art and culture, aware of the classics, at least of ancient Rome, and concerned to record and understand the achievements of the past. As Sir Richard Southern

points out in his book *Medieval Humanism*, there was a particularly strong interest in history in the England of the twelfth century. Is this perhaps reflected in the great Canterbury sequence of the ancestors of Christ?

One of the points which comes over strongly, as one examines and reflects on the original arrangement of the Cathedral windows, is the remarkable balance between the different stages of the divine activity as seen by the creators of these works. The great biblical windows hold together Old and New Testaments in a memorable interplay of types and antitypes, and they lead on to the windows showing the activity of God's grace through the lives of the saints, especially of course in the windows round the Trinity Chapel which celebrate the miracles of St. Thomas. Coming into the Cathedral on a sunny morning, particularly in the winter time when the sun is low, one cannot but be struck by the way in which these windows seem to give us a picture of a transfigured world; heaven and earth alike full of God's glory. It is a glory which touches and redeems sickness and death, which involves the great ones of this world, as well as those who by worldly standards are of little or no consequence. All are held together in a pattern at once diverse and yet unified.

Professor Caviness's study is rightly concerned with historicity and with a detailed discussion of small points of style and craftsmanship. It is the kind of book in which the general reader will sometimes feel that he has lost his way. But if it stimulates us to look again at the windows, to ask ourselves new questions about them and the men who made them, to bring to bear on them our own particular interests and insights, whatever they may be, then surely it has done something of the greatest value, for which all those who love the Cathedral should be deeply grateful. For these windows are an outstanding part of the total achievement of the Cathedral's builders. Like all abiding works of art they convey to us many meanings and are constantly full of surprise and delight. They bear witness not only to a wonderful moment of creativity in the history of Western Christendom, but to a more permanent possibility of man, when he allows his life to be touched and changed by the transforming power of God's grace.

A. M. ALLCHIN.

PILGRIMAGE TO CANTERBURY

by

HOWARD LOXTON

(David and Charles, 1978, 208 pp., £6.50)

In the latest book on St. Thomas Becket and Canterbury pilgrimages Mr. Howard Loxton has produced a most readable and attractive account of one of the most enigmatic figures in English history, devoting about a third of the book to an account of his life and the rest to the extraordinary cult that sprang up immediately after his murder in the Cathedral and continued to draw vast numbers of pilgrims to Canterbury for the next four centuries; their offerings enabling the Benedictine community of the Cathedral Priory to enlarge and beautify their great church until it became, as it still is, one of the most splendid mediaeval edifices in existence. After describing the routes which the pilgrim would follow along the old way from Winchester to Canterbury and from London, Mr. Loxton gives a good account of what the pilgrim would find on arrival at Canterbury, both in the city and the cathedral. The book is well illustrated with photographs in black and white (quite a few supplied by the British Tourist authority) and written in a very readable and attractive style. But instead of the rather scrappy little epilogue in which the pilgrimages of today to Canterbury are disposed of in a dozen or so lines, one would have liked a more reasoned and extended account of the revival of interest in St. Thomas and devotion to his memory in the last half century, stimulated, perhaps, by the writing of T. S. Eliot's famous play just before the Second World War, and culminating in the great year of festival sponsored by the cathedral authorities in 1970 to mark the eighth century of the martyrdom.

But perhaps this is an aspect of the subject which is most apparent to those of us who live under the shadow of St. Thomas's memory, and serve daily the modern pilgrims who still come to Canterbury in search of spiritual truth and religious inspiration (though no shrine nor relics await them there on arrival); finding those things today in the great church which owes so much to that holy blissful martyr, who being dead yet speaketh.

D. INGRAM HILL.

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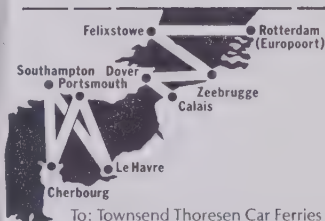
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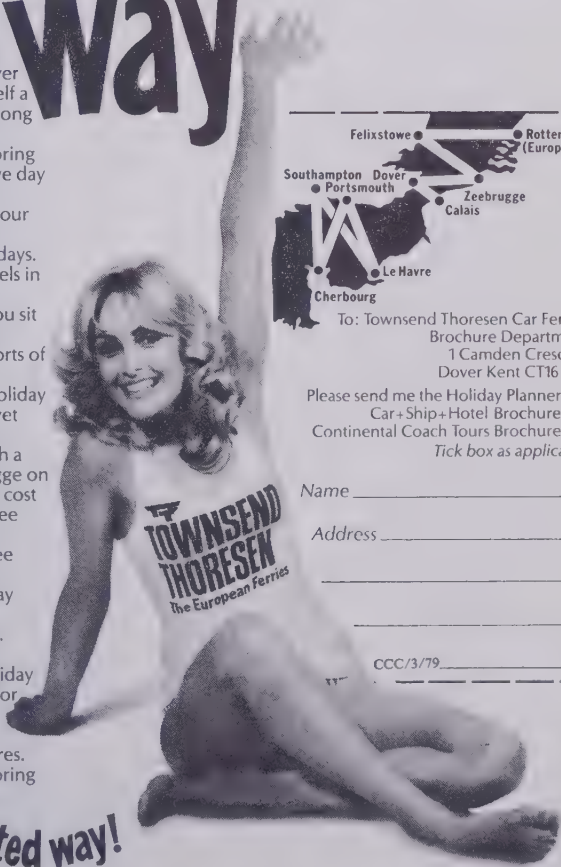
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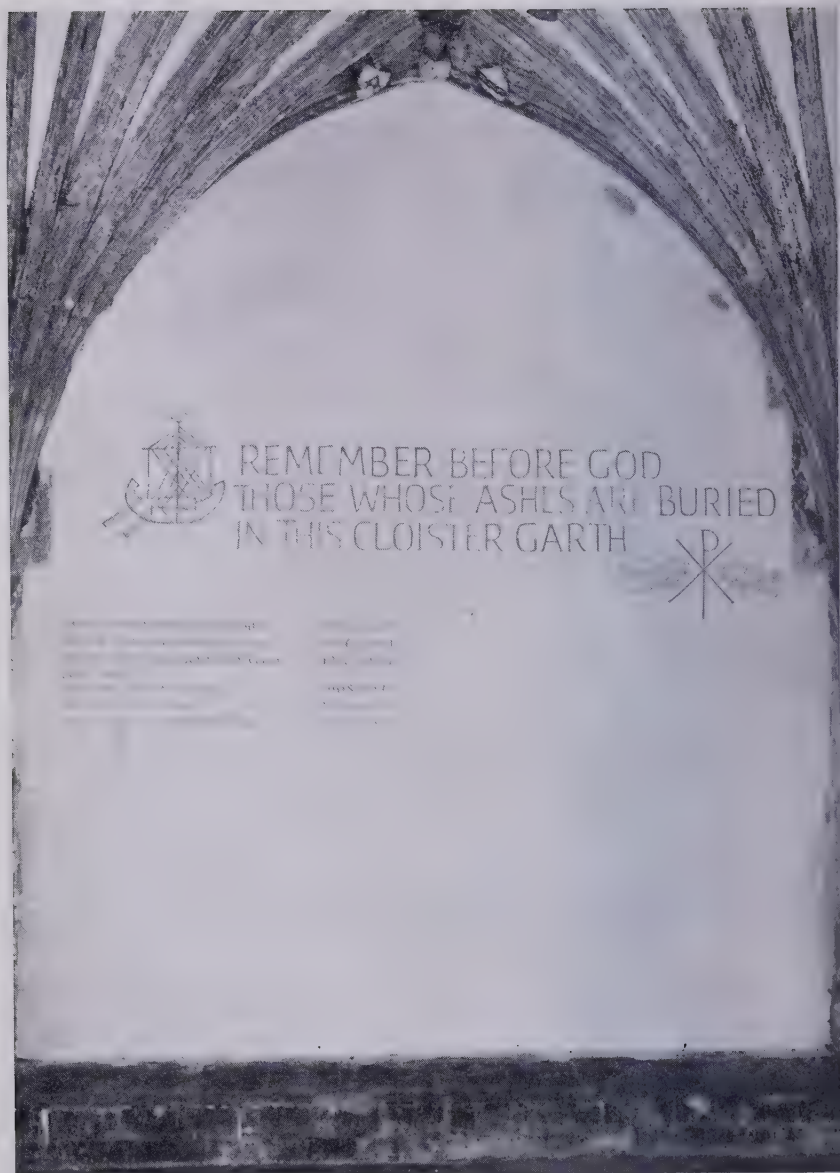
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New Memorial Plaque in Great Cloister.

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THE ARCHBISHOP'S MESSAGE TO THE FRIENDS

The Old Palace, Canterbury. Easter Monday.

As Archbishop of Canterbury I inherit many duties and titles which are largely formal. I do not include among them President of the Friends of the Cathedral. That is an honour which I cherish very deeply and I hope that I will always be in the closest touch with the Friends and their work.

Without this glorious building the Anglican Communion might seem to have lost its heart. That it in fact beats with such vigour and inspiration is in no small measure thanks to the loyalty and imagination of the Friends.

I salute you and pray God's blessing on all your endeavours.

†ROBERT CANTUAR



At the Annual General Meeting of the Religious Drama Society of Great Britain (RADIUS) in the Eastern Crypt on Saturday, 27th October, 1979, a happy picture of the Radius Patron, Baron Coggan of Canterbury and Sissinghurst, our Archbishop President until his retirement in January last, with Dr. E. Martin-Browne, then President of RADIUS and a Council member of the Friends, and whose death occurred on 27th April, 1980.

EDITORIAL

The annual edition of the Friends' Chronicle, usually issued at Easter, has been delayed for a few weeks this year to include a message of greeting from the newly enthroned Archbishop, our President. Those who were present at his enthronement on Lady Day or were able to see the superb presentation of it on television by the B.B.C. will not quarrel with the claim that it was probably the most magnificent service ever to be held in the Cathedral, and the congregation certainly the most distinguished since it included representatives not only of every aspect of our national life but of the whole Anglican Communion, and of the Christian Church throughout the world.

The picture on our front cover showing the moment of enthronement of Archbishop Robert in the Marble Chair (once more set in its ancient and proper place at the top of the great flight of steps behind the High Altar) should be an agreeable and permanent reminder to all Friends in years to come of this historic occasion.

Now we have this year gathered a number of articles together from the pens of authorities on different aspects of the Cathedral and its life. Dr. William Urry, Dr. Francis Woodman and Miss Lois Lang-Sims are all well known to readers of this Chronicle, and Mr. Tim Tatton-Brown, the director of the Canterbury Archaeological Trust, has become a valued member of the Cathedral community. Mr. Bryan Little is the President this year of the Bristol and Gloucester Archaeological Society; and Mr. John Fletcher and Dr. Jane Geddes, whose united efforts have thrown so much light on the door in the North Quire Ambulatory, work respectively for the Research Laboratory for Archaeology and the History of Art at Oxford University, and the Department of the Environment. We are grateful to Canon Cyril Taylor (so long associated with the R.S.C.M.) for permission to reprint his memorial address on Dr. Gerald Knight, and to Bishop Michael Ramsey for his address on St. Anselm, delivered in the Cathedral last July to the Anselm Society Congress. In lighter vein are a charming poem written by some children from Leicestershire who made a pilgrimage last summer to the Cathedral, and some reminiscences of his time as a student at Christ Church College contributed by one of our Cathedral Guides, Mr. Mark Rees.

We should acknowledge our gratitude to the Kentish Gazette for the fine cover picture and for their permission to reprint the article on the "Historic Splendour of Enthronement" which appeared in the Gazette on March 28th last.

DEREK INGRAM HILL

This year we are indebted to Debenhams Ltd. for a very generous sponsorship contribution to production and distribution of the Chronicle.

Friends will recall that we owe the 1979 number of the Chronicle to the generous sponsorship of Townsend Thoresen European Ferries.

Those visiting Europe in the coming year will be interested to know that Townsends are introducing three new 8,200-ton car ferries on the Dover-Calais route, which can carry 350 cars and 1,300 passengers.

The first of these, *Spirit of Free Enterprise*, is already in service and the other two will follow in June and November respectively. They have made it possible to reduce the crossing time to only 75 minutes and check-in time to 30 minutes, while *Spirit of Free Enterprise* has already set up a new Channel record for a car ferry by sailing between Dover and Calais in only 53 minutes 49 seconds.

NOTES AND NEWS

1979 . . . A wonderful year

A year not likely to be remembered in the future for anything special which happened during its course like a Lambeth Conference or the Enthronement of an archbishop, but it may well go down to history as a year in which a surprising number of things happened in and around the Cathedral Church, some of them after many years of preparation and most of them because of the generosity of the Friends; while other things, which will (D.V.) be realised in the near future, had their origin in this particular year.

At the very end of 1979 the upper storey of the fine canonical house — No. 11 the Precincts, which had been broken up into flats early this century — became the headquarters of the Friends instead of the rather cramped room over the Chapter Office at No. 8 which has done duty for some years past.

In addition to the Friends office — a spacious room looking over the Precincts — the large drawing room over the main portico of the house is being furnished to be a room where Council meetings can be held and social gatherings as well as committees meet, while other rooms on the same floor house the secretary for Guides, the publicity officer of the Chapter, the Dean's secretary and other members of the Senior staff of the Cathedral. There is also a pleasant vestibule inside the main door, and kitchen accommodation. The adjoining flat, once occupied by that great 'Friend' Dr. Burgon Bickersteth, will in the course of 1980 provide accommodation for parties of pilgrims, as well as a rest room for guides and chaplains etc. Towards all this the Friends set aside share assets of around £20,000 some two years ago which are now to be put to immediate use.

Other gifts to the Cathedral from our funds over the past 12 months include the major part of the cost of the new High Altar and all its furnishings £3,750, as well as a generous contribution of £3,500 towards the large carpeted platform at the east end of the Nave and the new altar which stands on it. In midsummer a

large stone plaque was set in the west wall of the Cloister on which Mr. Ralph Beyer, the distinguished carver and calligraphist, incised the names of those whose ashes have been interred in the Cloister Garth in recent years. The Friends contributed £4,000. towards the cost of this plaque. In the 1979 Chronicle an appeal was made for special lights for the Quire combining small electric lamps with real candles — the latter to be lit on special feasts. The response from Friends has been remarkable the money to procure forty-eight of these lights having so far been subscribed. The first twenty-eight lights were in position and dedicated by the Dean during Evensong on Christmas Eve.

The Cathedral Clock in the S.W. Tower is being completely overhauled at what is expected to be a total cost of £3,000 provided by the Friends, and £1,750 more has been provided for modern Telecommunications equipment which will greatly increase the efficiency of fabric preservation work.

But the most considerable gift to which the Friends have committed themselves (apart from an additional sum of £20,000 held in reserve for long-term Pilgrimage Centre developments) is a sum of some £18,000 towards the complete restoration of the Cathedral bells which will be undertaken in the next couple of years in conjunction with the restoration of the stonework of the South West Tower and west front. We shall hope to give a full account of this project in the Chronicle for 1981.

Major works from the Cathedral Appeal funds include the successful restoration of the Willis organ by the firm of Noel Mander which was described in the 1979 Chronicle and is now complete. The organ was first heard at a most successful open evening in September and has won golden opinions from many experts. The restoration included a special section of six stops enclosed in a case, designed by Mr. Peter Marsh, the Cathedral Surveyor, and this was installed on the north wall of the Nave in time for the Enthronement ceremony on Lady Day 1980. The other great event of 1979 was the opening of a Treasury for the display of church plate in the Western Crypt. This had long been mooted and it was a great moment when it was first opened last August as part of a remodelled Exhibition. Funds have been provided to set up this Treasury by the Goldsmiths Company, and the Dean and Chapter in association, and apart from Cathedral plate the Archbishop has loaned some fine pieces of plate from Lambeth Palace, the Benedictine community of St. Augustine's Abbey at Ramsgate have loaned some fine pieces of altar silver designed by the great Victorian architect, A. W. Pugin, and many parishes in the diocese have loaned chalices, patens, flagons, etc., of all periods from the fifteenth century to modern times.

This Treasury, like others opened in English cathedrals in the last few years, is a permanent one protected by the usual security devices against robbery; changes in the plate exhibited will take place from time to time.

GERALD HOCKEN KNIGHT

An Address

given by Canon Cyril Taylor

(Warden of Addington, 1953-58)

in St. Sepulchre's Church, Holborn

on

11th October, 1979

We who meet here to-day, in the R.S.C.M.'s first London home, have strong links to bind us together. A love and concern for church music makes us all one. But on this occasion it is Gerald Knight who brings us here. All of us have been associated with him and his work in one way or another: many of us have been his friends: and now we come here to try to express our affection for him, and our admiration for all that he achieved.

We are able to be here: but think what a tiny fraction we are of those who would be here if they could. For Gerald was known as a friend all over the Anglican Communion. Anyone called to be Director of the R.S.C.M. must prove himself an ambassador as much as administrator: and it may well be for that side of his work that history will remember Gerald best.

His death has come upon us sudden and unexpected: but he could only have lived on as an invalid, and surely as a most frustrated and unhappy one. So for him death came as a kindly summons.

It closes an association with the R.S.C.M. so long and so varied that it will surely remain unique. It was in January 1930 that he went as a student to Chislehurst, and it cannot have escaped his meticulous notice that in a mere three months he would have reached the fifty years. Dear Gerald, where time is swallowed up in eternity, that will not worry him.

For us here, and for the whole R.S.C.M., his death marks the end of an era. After Cambridge, Gerald spent seven years at Chislehurst, where (in his own words) 'Sydney Nicholson dominated our lives.' So when, some twenty years later, he himself became Director, he did so as one brought up firmly in the Nicholson tradition—fortunate also to inherit from his mentor the same limitless zest and energy. The death of Sydney Nicholson was indeed the death of the Founder, but an outstanding disciple was there to take the reins from his hands, and to lead the R.S.C.M. quietly and purposefully out of one stage into the next.

Now, with Gerald's going from us, the strongest link with the R.S.C.M.'s beginnings is broken. It is a moment which is bound to come in the developing life of any movement; but it brings with it, I think, solemn thoughts which somehow I cannot put into words.

One thing, however, I can clearly say, and, in the presence of Lionel and Elizabeth Dakers, it is a particular joy to do so. When Gerald retired as Director six or seven years ago, he went

on living at Addington, and was bound to see changes of many kinds—hardest to bear of them all, that economics compelled the College of Resident Students to close. It had existed for more than forty years: he himself had been one of its first students, and in due course its Warden. But never in the many conversations I had with him, did I hear from him one word of criticism: nothing but unbounded admiration for everything that his successor was doing. And he spoke so naturally, that clearly it was no act put on for my benefit.

And now, as the R.S.C.M.'s most widely known figure goes from our sight, we thank God for so powerfully using his gifts. 'He transformed church music in Korea during quite a short stay'—so said the Bishop of Leicester the other day. 'He must have been about the most travelled member of the Anglican Communion,' said Bishop Roberts, 'certainly the most travelled lay member.' Think of the influence of that. Think of all the men and women in many parts of the Anglican Communion whom he encouraged to visit Addington, and who returned home with a new vision of church music to pass on to the church in their own country. We may fairly regard the Course for Overseas Students held every summer, which would fill Addington Palace twice over, as the crown of Gerald's influence throughout the Anglican Communion. There must be many, abroad and in this country—and I am one of them—who will remember at this time that it was through Gerald that they entered on new fields in church music which affected the future course of their life.

All of us here—in the R.S.C.M., in the musical profession, especially in the Royal College of Organists, his colleagues on the Board of Hymns A. & M.—we all bring our own personal memories. I think of the generous nature, the quick brain reflected in the quick movements and the quick response ('Gerald.' 'Yes, dear') and the remarkable, and not always convenient, vanishing-trick. 'Gerald. Where *is* Gerald? He was here a moment ago.' Yes, but a moment later he wasn't! How can I speak for you all? Please forgive me for all that you have wanted to hear, and have not heard.

But in one respect I may certainly speak for you, here in a church founded, like every other, on belief that Christ is risen, and that for those who trust him he is resurrection and he is life.

Gerald the traveller calls to mind the assurance of Jesus, In my Father's house are many lodgings. The pilgrim moves forward on the road of faith and of fellowship with God, as it were from lodging to lodging, from stage to stage, from glory to glory, to find himself welcomed at each stage by One who has perfectly trodden the same road before him. That journey of faith and fellowship, the journey to the Heavenly City, begins here and as Jesus has assured us, those who take it do not even notice what we regard as the great divide of physical death.

God grant us all—the living and the departed—to find ourselves at home in the Father's house.

GERALD HOCKEN KNIGHT

An Address

given by Canon Cyril Taylor

(Warden of Addington, 1953-58)

in St. Sepulchre's Church, Holborn

on

11th October, 1979

We who meet here to-day, in the R.S.C.M.'s first London home, have strong links to bind us together. A love and concern for church music makes us all one. But on this occasion it is Gerald Knight who brings us here. All of us have been associated with him and his work in one way or another: many of us have been his friends: and now we come here to try to express our affection for him, and our admiration for all that he achieved.

We are able to be here: but think what a tiny fraction we are of those who would be here if they could. For Gerald was known as a friend all over the Anglican Communion. Anyone called to be Director of the R.S.C.M. must prove himself an ambassador as much as administrator: and it may well be for that side of his work that history will remember Gerald best.

His death has come upon us sudden and unexpected: but he could only have lived on as an invalid, and surely as a most frustrated and unhappy one. So for him death came as a kindly summons.

It closes an association with the R.S.C.M. so long and so varied that it will surely remain unique. It was in January 1930 that he went as a student to Chislehurst, and it cannot have escaped his meticulous notice that in a mere three months he would have reached the fifty years. Dear Gerald, where time is swallowed up in eternity, that will not worry him.

For us here, and for the whole R.S.C.M., his death marks the end of an era. After Cambridge, Gerald spent seven years at Chislehurst, where (in his own words) 'Sydney Nicholson dominated our lives.' So when, some twenty years later, he himself became Director, he did so as one brought up firmly in the Nicholson tradition—fortunate also to inherit from his mentor the same limitless zest and energy. The death of Sydney Nicholson was indeed the death of the Founder, but an outstanding disciple was there to take the reins from his hands, and to lead the R.S.C.M. quietly and purposefully out of one stage into the next.

Now, with Gerald's going from us, the strongest link with the R.S.C.M.'s beginnings is broken. It is a moment which is bound to come in the developing life of any movement; but it brings with it, I think, solemn thoughts which somehow I cannot put into words.

One thing, however, I can clearly say, and, in the presence of Lionel and Elizabeth Dakers, it is a particular joy to do so. When Gerald retired as Director six or seven years ago, he went

on living at Addington, and was bound to see changes of many kinds—hardest to bear of them all, that economics compelled the College of Resident Students to close. It had existed for more than forty years: he himself had been one of its first students, and in due course its Warden. But never in the many conversations I had with him, did I hear from him one word of criticism: nothing but unbounded admiration for everything that his successor was doing. And he spoke so naturally, that clearly it was no act put on for my benefit.

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at No. 11B The Precincts, where it is hoped many members may call to see our splendid new view of the Cathedral this coming summer.

Regrettably there are sad losses to the Council to report: Dr. Gerald Knight, to whom tribute is paid in Canon Taylor's Address reprinted in this Chronicle, died last Autumn; and this Spring the Council suffered the loss of Mr. John Hayes, a Council member for only five years, but whose contribution to the Friends' cause had been outstanding in its detailed interest and perception of current needs. Mr. Hayes will also be missed as a Cathedral Guide, in which capacity his former appointment as Principal Lecturer and Head of History at Christ Church College, Canterbury, was of particular significance. It is with the greatest regret that we need to report the very recent death of Dr. E. Martin Browne, who, following retirement from the Council after many years of most distinguished service, was looking forward to further service as one of our Vice-Presidents.

Additions to Council membership are: Mrs. Nancy Clifford, Professor Patrick Collinson, Mrs. M. Scott-Knight, Mrs. W. Hughes Jones, Mr. S. Raven. Mr. Colin Mattingly, who is Secretary to the Cathedral Appeal, has become a co-opted member of the Friends' Council.

An interesting new development is that Mr. Samuel E. Belk III, of Washington D.C., U.S.A., a devoted Friend of the Cathedral who visits Canterbury frequently and numbers among his forebears two former Canons of the Cathedral (Canon William Belk, d. 1676, and his son, Canon Thomas Belk, d. 1712, both of whom are commemorated by inscribed ledger stones in the Cathedral Nave) now acts as a representative of the Friends in the U.S.A.. Mr. Belk hopes before long to extend his activities in the field of recruitment of new members on our behalf.

On Sunday, 20th May, 1979, following a special Evensong and Chapter House tea, there was a Gala Film Evening at the Odeon Cinema, Canterbury, where 'A Canterbury Tale' was shown by courtesy of Michael Powell and Emeric Pressburger and the Rank Organisation in aid of the Cathedral Appeal. The Friends arranged this successful evening, which raised rather more than £1,000 for Appeal funds.

Friends' Day, to a pattern which has become familiar, starting with a morning Sung Eucharist followed by Luncheon, the Annual Meeting, Festal Evensong and Tea, was held on Saturday, 13th June last year. After tea, at 5.30 p.m. in the lecture theatre of Christ Church College, Canterbury, a most interesting talk with slides on 'Her Majesty's Heralds' was given by Mr. Herbert Chesshyre, M.A., F.S.A. (Chester Herald).

Events of special interest to Friends in 1979 closed with the Radius Festival held in the Cathedral over the weekend 26th/28th October. Radius is, of course, the religious drama society formed fifty years ago by Dr. E. Martin Browne under the inspiration of Bishop Bell, at that time Dean of Canterbury and founder of the Friends.

Friends will remember that in the last autumn News-Letter we announced our hope of arranging a musical evening for members in the spring of this year. This regrettably proved to be impracticable, but the Shirley Hall of the King's School has been booked for a special Friends' Evening on the 1st November next when it is hoped the Renaissance Dance Group will give a performance.

For all the events of last year, and doubtless again in 1980, the Friends are once more indebted to the Ladies' Catering Committee and to volunteers chosen by that Committee, among whom should be mentioned in particular Mr. and Mrs. Gerald Ireland and Mr. and Mrs. Carrette.

Friends' Day 1980 is to be on Saturday, 19th July, when a marquee on the Green Court will be used for both lunch and tea. Details are in the Supplement to this Chronicle as are those for the 1st November Evening.

NOTICES

Deaconess Julia Butterworth became the first woman to be licensed for Cathedral service on Saturday, 22nd September.

The Reverend Paul Rose, M.A., succeeded the Reverend Raymond Gilbert as Precentor, being installed on 15th December. The Reverend Raymond Gilbert is now Rector of Bridge, Patix-bourne and Bekesbourne.

Note : The Friends' Office still has a good supply of Friends' ties (£2.50) and Lapel Pins (75p).

The Friends have no current address for the following members, to whom, consequently, we are unable to send the Chronicle and other Friends' literature. If any reader happens to know of any of these members and is able to provide us with up-to-date news of them we would be grateful.

Life Members :

Miss S. E. Barrett
 Lady Eric Gore-Brown
 Mrs. K. Hedges
 Mr. B. J. Lord
 Mr. H. W. Pratley
 Mrs. J. I. Richardson
 Major Sedgwick Rough
 Miss Stella Mary Van Hollick

Formerly of:

Egerton
 London, SW1
 London, SW1
 Bromley, Kent
 Tunbridge Wells
 Chislehurst
 London, W8
 London, W2

Other Members :

Mr. J. R. W. Alexander
 Mrs. M. L. Arnold
 Lady Arthur
 Mr. W. N. Britton
 Mr. & Mrs. P. Coomber
 Miss M. Cross
 The Misses J. A. M. & T. Dent
 Mrs. G. Drew
 Lady Essex French
 Mr. R. H. Hansman
 Mr. P. Hoffman
 Mrs. J. E. Holloway
 Mr. C. S. Jolly
 Mrs. Allan Leeper
 The Rt. Rev. A. R. McKinstry
 Miss E. Moriggia
 Miss A. Morgan
 Mrs. Prall
 Mrs. J. Quarrill
 Mrs. Emily Rodgers
 The Rev. E. Sanford
 Mr. I. Smith
 Mr. David Stevens
 Mrs. J. Woodward Jameson

Eastbourne
 London, W8
 London, SW3
 Folkestone
 Salisbury
 Birchington
 North Adelaide, S. Australia
 Bletchingley
 London, N6
 Princeton, U.S.A.
 Maidenhead
 London, W4
 London, EC3
 London, SW5
 Delaware, U.S.A.
 London, W1
 London, E9
 Whitstable
 Campsall, Doncaster
 Canterbury
 Laguna Beach, U.S.A.
 Siegan, West Germany
 Aberlour
 Seaford

CANTERBURY PILGRIMAGES 1980

Once again we are pleased to draw Friends' attention to these; a leaflet with full details accompanies the Chronicle, and there is a 10% reduction on quoted costs for members of the Friends.

DEATHS OF FRIENDS

Recorded with reverence and honour following notification received between March 1st, 1979, and February 28th, 1980.

Anderson, Mrs. I. C.	Kenyon, Mr. G. H.
Ardizzone, Mr. E.	Knight, Dr. Gerald
Baker, Miss E. M.	Lea, Mrs. M.
Baker, Mrs. M. B.	Longshaw, Miss Ida
Barrington, Mrs. Joan	Mackenzie, Mr. E. K. B.
Bates, Mrs. K.	Mallinder, Mrs. N. I.
Benjamin, Mrs. E. M.	Mann, Mrs. H. L.
Bickmore, Mr. A. F.	Marcan, Mrs. B. M.
Black, Miss V. L.	Markham, Miss D.
Burrows, Miss L.	Moir, Prebendary Arthur
Callender, Sir Colin	Mount, Mr. E. J.
Cauldwell, Mrs. V. B.	Mount, Mrs. E. M.
Campbell, Mr. A. D.	Mowll, Mr. W. R.
Chadwick, Mrs. D.	Neville, Mrs. E. L.
Cook, The Ven. Archdeacon	Nash, Miss B.
Cox, Mrs. S. A.	Nichol, Mr. W.
Cozens, Mr. A. D.	Onslow, Mrs. E. N.
Cull, Mrs. U. E. K.	Oswald, Mr. A. S.
Day, Miss J. M.	Pettman, Mrs. D. W.
Dean, Miss J. E.	Pettman, The Rev. H. F.
Dunn, Miss F. K.	Pocock, Miss K. I.
Edwards, Miss A. L. S.	Potter, Mr. F. H.
Eismans, Miss A. A.	Price, Lt.-Col. O.
Fisher, The Hon. Charles D.	Ranken, Mrs. M.
FitzHerbert, Mrs. H. B.	Rawlins, Miss J. M.
Fletcher, Mr. H.	Redman, Mr. J. H.
Foxell, Dr. Humphrey	Roberts, Brigadier M. R.
Garrad, Mr. G. H.	Sampson, Miss K. S.
Garstin, Miss D. B.	Sharland, Mr. W. B.
Gibson, Miss M. G.	Simnett, Miss W.
Griffiths, Mrs. M. B.	Slaughter, Mrs. M.
Gilbert, Miss A. I.	Smith, Mrs. E. G.
Hall, The Rev. David	Smyth, Dr. E.
Hallet, Mrs. M. F.	Stainton, The Hon. Lady
Hardwick, Miss E. E.	Stephenson, Mrs. J.
Harwood, Mrs. A. E. S.	Taylor, Miss A. G.
Hayes, Mr. John L.	Taylor, Mr. A. F.
Head, Mr. P. V.	Taylor, Mr. N. A.
Hobbs, Mr. J.	Thornton, Mrs. B.
Huxley, Miss N.	Thorpe, Mr. E. W.
Innes, Mr. A. T. M.	Vinson, Mr. G. K.
Jackson, Miss M.	Wacher, Miss J.
Jarvis, Mr. B. J.	Williams, Mr. and Mrs. J. B.
Johnson, The Rev. G. V.	Witty, Mrs. B. A.
Johnstone, Mrs. K. R.	Woods, Mr. F. J.
Kelleway, Mrs. E. C. B.	Williamson, Miss F. M.

Correction : In last year's list the name of Miss B. Griffith appeared ; this should have read Miss M. G. Griffith. We very much regret any distress caused by this error.

PILGRIMAGE TO CANTERBURY

Written in grateful remembrance of a visit to the Cathedral in 1979 by a group of pupils of average age 10½ years from the County Junior School, Burbage, Leicestershire.

We passed through an ancient doorway,
Entered the Cathedral and gasped at its glory;
The massive pillars took the words from our mouths,
Our eyes travelled up and up, past carved capitals,
Past Biblical figures enthroned on high, in glass,
Up to the roof, its ribs towering above us,
Joined by brilliantly painted bosses,
Azure, gules and or, blazoning the shields;
How tiny we felt as our voices echoed round the silent stones.
We crept down to the Crypt and entered
The cool cellar of God, where lines of Norman pillars stood
Like giant chess pieces crossing a board;
There, glass cases guarded precious relics,
And only footsteps and whispers could be heard below ground.
We climbed back up, and moved on East, past countless
Memorials in marble, a knight lying on his side in leisurely pose,
Leaning his head on his plated arms, watching pilgrims go by,
Archbishops sleeping in peace, soldiers forever at rest;
We passed the Black Prince, lying still on his tomb
Beneath his splendid Achievements, a glitter of gold and glory.
As pilgrims neared their destination long ago,
So we followed their footsteps up worn treads,
To the shrine of Thomas à Becket, once a jewelled cask of gold,
Now a marble void. But the Mediaeval saint looked down on us,
Immortalized in glass, hand raised in blessing, eyes sorrowing.
The deep tones from Bell Harry Tower called us to Evensong;
The Choirboys' heads were framed in frills like angelic Yeomen,
Their voices soared up to the vaulted roof and the
Mighty singing of Psalms made us jump in amazement—
Lights were lit in the deepening dusk in the Nave,
And as we left we gazed back at the Cathedral, bathed in evening
sunlight,
A memorial to hundreds of years of love and toil,
Its greatness etched in our minds for ever.

HISTORIC SPLENDOUR OF ENTHRONEMENT

On Sunday, November 4, 1928, at evening service in the Cathedral attended by the Mayor and Corporation and many others, Archbishop Randall Davidson preached his last sermon as Archbishop and took his leave of the city and diocese.

He had held office for 25 years, given firm leadership to the Church during the terrible years of World War I and now made history by being the first Archbishop of Canterbury to retire.

Among those in the Cathedral there was a strong feeling that this was the end of an era and that great changes were about to take place in the life of both Cathedral and Church under the new regime. They were soon proved to be right.

Dr. George Bell, who had been stirring up Cathedral life and worship since his appointment as Dean nearly five years before, was a priest with a great sense of theatre in which he and the new Archbishop, Dr. Cosmo Lang, had a bond in common. Both were ecumenicists before that word became fashionable in Church circles, and both were determined that the enthronement of a new Archbishop should be an occasion for colour and pageantry, and should show the Church as a centre of national life and unity and also as a patron of the arts and crafts.

For three centuries after the enthronement of Thomas Cranmer in the Cathedral in December, 1533, this great ceremony had lapsed as a public and national occasion and had become an affair of proxies to comply with legal requirements, Archbishops being regarded as beginning their term of office from the confirmation of their election by a Royal Commission (only Dr. Tenison in 1695 and Dr. Wake in 1715 bothered to come to Canterbury for enthronement at all).

The revival of the ceremony by Archbishop Sumner in 1848 signalled to the Church and nation that a new spirit was at work in the Church of England and the vast crowd that attended on this occasion suggests that the revival of spiritual life was at once long overdue and warmly welcomed by many of the clergy and laity alike.

For the next 80 years every Archbishop in turn was enthroned in the Cathedral in the presence of great congregations, usually at the end of Morning Prayer, the Archbishop being placed successively in the throne in the Quire, the Dean's stall, the Marble Chair (tucked away since 1825 in a side chapel) and, finally, in the seat of the medieval priors in the Chapter House.

Most of the important acts of the ceremony were performed by the Archdeacon of Canterbury, the Dean walking by himself and the Vice Dean and Senior Canon walking on each side of the new Primate as supporters in the procession (the most obvious link with the great medieval ceremonies of enthronement was the

singing of a solemn *Te Deum* on every occasion recorded, before the proceedings inside the Cathedral came to an end).

Now, in 1928, the Dean and Chapter, in harmony with the mind of the new Primate, were resolved to give the traditional enthronement a new setting and a "new look" with a vengeance. Large numbers of bishops from all over the Anglican Communion were invited, as well as representatives of many other Christian bodies, Cabinet ministers and representatives of the arts as of many other aspects of public life, all entering the church in procession on the great day — December 4 (anniversary of the consecration in Canterbury Cathedral of St. Anselm as Archbishop 1093).

The choir of the Chapel Royal at St. James' Palace was there to augment the Cathedral choir (placed on the Pulpitum screen to give more room in the Quire for visitors), a trumpeter (vested in a surplice) was there to play a fanfare after the *Te Deum* and Dr. Vaughan Williams had written a splendid setting of the *Te Deum* for the occasion (heard again in 1942 and 1945 and sung at Tuesday's ceremony).

The Eucharist and Matins had already been celebrated, it having been decided that the great processions entering and leaving the church, the actual enthronements with the sermon and *Te Deum* made a service long and complete enough in itself, a practice that has endured to this day.

But two great innovations were to be observed by those familiar with the ceremonies of the past. The Marble Chair had been moved for the occasion to the top of the steps leading from Nave to Quire so that all in the Nave might see the enthronement there, and this was to be performed by the Dean as successor to the priors of the Benedictine monastery, enthronement in the modern throne in the Quire and the Dean's stall remaining the prerogative of the Archdeacon of Canterbury.

A third innovation was a blessing of the city, country and people by the newly enthroned Archbishop, given outside the west doors of the Cathedral in the final procession to the Chapter House.

Thanks to the weather, which was fine and dry, the proceedings went off without a hitch and the pattern of successive enthronements for a long time to come was established. The grim background of World War II was not allowed to dim the splendour of the next two occasions, the enthronement of Dr. William Temple in 1942 and of his successor, Dr. Fisher, in 1945, both taking place on days of bright April sunshine (afternoon now seems to have been regarded as the best time for such occasions, once separation from Matins had been achieved).

The primacy of Dr. Lang had seen the wearing of cope and mitre by the Archbishop become an established thing for the first time since the Reformation and the introduction of copes for

dean and canons as normal wear in the Cathedral at the Eucharist and on all festival occasions now allowed fresh colour and warmth to come into the visual aspect of enthronements from 1942 onwards which was generally welcomed and accepted by the Church at large.

The enthronement of Dr. Fisher in April, 1945, was made memorable by being close to the end of the war in Europe only a few days later. There was a great sense of excitement and relief, not least in Canterbury, which had suffered so heavily from German bombing in the past few years.

Two innovations were added to the traditional ceremonies — the solemn restitution of the pastoral staff to the Archbishop, signifying that the guardianship of the spiritualities of the See of Canterbury, entrusted by ancient custom to the Dean and Chapter during an interregnum, had now reverted to the Diocesan Bishop again after his installation in the throne in the Quire, and the taking of the corporal oath by the new Archbishop on the famous volume of the Canterbury Gospels, traditionally presented to St. Augustine by Pope Gregory the Great at the time of the conversion of Kent, c 600.

The enthronement on a beautiful day in late June, 1961, of Dr. Michael Ramsey saw the abandonment of the ceremony of installation in the Dean's stall (unlikely to be revived again) and the restoration of the exterior blessing of the city, the country and the people, from outside the west doors, which had been a feature of Dr. Lang's enthronement but not of subsequent wartime occasions.

Splendid fanfares by massed trumpeters and a Te Deum written for the occasion by the Cathedral organist, Dr. Sidney Campbell lent (musical) colour to the service, as did the presence of the Lord Chancellor and members of the Cabinet.

By the time Dr. Donald Coggan was enthroned on a cold day in January, 1975, the liberalising influences of the Second Vatican Council had brought the Church of Rome into the Ecumenical movement and it may have been that memories of Dr. Ramsey's historic visit to Pope Paul VI a few years before caused no less than three cardinals to appear robed in the procession and sit in stalls in the Quire.

Royalty, too — the Prince of Wales, Princess Margaret and the Duchess of Kent — were also in the Quire with the Lord Chancellor, the Speaker of the House of Commons and the leaders of the three main political parties to keep them company in the return stalls.

Incidental and somewhat unusual features of this occasion were the heavy police precautions taken to protect the VIPs, and there was a pleasantly informal tea party in the western Crypt for those attending the ceremony, immediately after the service.

Rather more important to the public was the televising of the entire service by the BBC which ensured that more people than ever were able to participate in the ceremony, the most novel feature of which was the giving of ceremonial greetings to the new Archbishop on his arrival in the Nave by representatives of the Roman Catholic, Orthodox and Free Church of England and the Church of Scotland.

Arriving in the Quire, the Archbishop received more greetings from leading Archbishops of the Anglican Communion; readings from the Bible accompanied both these greetings.

Blessings too were a new feature — one being given to him by the Bishop of London as Dean of the Province after installation in the Quire throne and another by the Archbishop of Kenya after enthronement in the Marble Chair as Primate of All England and chief bishop of the Anglican Communion.

Now, five years later, have come the ceremonies to mark the enthronement of Bishop Robert Runcie of St. Albans as 102nd Archbishop of Canterbury and it is no exaggeration to say that this occasion was in many ways more unusual and significant than any this century or last.

For in July, 1977, after much debate, the Dean and Chapter decided to restore the ancient arrangement of the Cathedral Sacramentum, placing the High Altar again where it had stood until 1825 on the dais above the level of the Presbytery floor and setting behind it the Marble Chair on the level of the Trinity Chapel, where it had been placed in the last years of the 12th Century after the completion of the Gothic Quire by William the Englishman.

And now that it has come to rest in its proper place after a century-and-a-half of wandering to the Corona, the South East Transept or the Pulpitum steps for enthronements, Lambeth Conferences and so forth, it must seem to most people right to leave it there for good. And so the Primate was placed by the Dean in his Cathedral on the spot where so many of his predecessors in medieval times began their reign.

A glance at the order of service revealed some other interesting and relatively novel features about the service this time. Before the traditional ceremonial entry of the new Archbishop from the Old Palace, the Dean and all the Canons (the Electoral College) stood around the Nave altar (a new one on a specially designed new platform) while the mandate for the enthronement was read by the principal Registrar of the Diocese.

When the Archbishop had entered and been escorted up the Nave with his company he knelt before the altar for prayer while a psalm was sung and then publicly made the Declaration of Assent before taking his Corporal Oath on the Canterbury Gospels.

Scripture readings and prayers followed, with a commemoration of the saints (especially the saints of Canterbury). Only then did the procession move up into the Quire for the all-important enthronement with their accompanying blessings.

When the Archbishop was firmly installed in the Marble Chair, *Te Deum* was sung and he exchanged greetings with the Anglican primates and the other leading churchmen around the High Altar.

After the *Te Deum* the Archbishop preached, preceding his sermon by a reading from the Gospels and the great Bible of 1638 in its splendid silver covers (presented to the Cathedral by Dean Turner at the Restoration of 1660) was brought to him at the Chair. Everyone joined in the Nicene Creed as a profession of faith after the sermon and a nice link was established with the enthronement of 1928 by the singing of the hymn *Christ is the King* by the late Bishop G. K. A. Bell (then Dean of Canterbury).

As in past services of this kind, the Primate first blessed the congregation in the Quire and proceeded to the Nave for a similar blessing, the whole service ending with the blessing outside the west doors and then the solemn promises of obedience made by all those on the Foundation in the Chapter House. Part one of the ceremonies to inaugurate the Ministry of Archbishop Robert Cantuar had ended.

For the first time there was a part two, the following evening when the diocese, represented by all its clergy and as many of its laity as could be got into the building, met for a great Corporate Eucharist, celebrated by the Archbishop with his suffragans and assistant bishops around him. This was a most welcome addition to the ceremonies traditional on this great occasion and, apart from the fact that it was a return to medieval precedent, it would seem to be the best of all ways of bringing the many faithful communicants of the Diocesan family into fellowship and personal contact with their Chief Shepherd at the earliest possible opportunity after the enthronement itself.

It has been my good fortune to be at every enthronement from 1928 onwards, and so to be able to study at first hand the many ways in which this historic ceremony has been altered and developed over half a century in different aspects, while always preserving the fundamental installations in the throne in the Quire, the Marble Chair and, finally, the Prior's seat in the Chapter House. In this respect it resembled many of our great national occasions in being at once firmly rooted in the historic past and yet perfectly capable of adaptation to modern needs and attitudes.

It is surely the fervent prayer of all of us that in the words of the proclamation traditionally made at Evensong in the Cathedral on the day of the formal election by the Dean and Chapter, Archbishop Robert may enjoy "a long and happy administration."

DEREK INGRAM HILL

ANSELM, OF BEC AND CANTERBURY

An Address given in the Cathedral by Bishop Michael Ramsey to the Anselm Society Congress.

We commemorate to-day the greatest of the Archbishops of Canterbury, Anselm of Bec. He served God as a monk, as a man of contemplation who led many and leads many in the way of prayer, as a loving pastor, as a profound thinker, and a courageous statesman. To excel in two or three of these roles is not indeed rare in the story of Christianity. But we see Anselm using all five talents to the full, and it is remembered not only that all these talents were his but that these aspects had an inner unity and were all of one piece. Anselm was all of one piece. The monastic life, the praying, the reasoning, the caring for people, the statesman's judgment and courage had all a single root, and the separation of them would be for Anselm impossible and without meaning.

All of one piece. The monk in Anselm was uncompromising. To pray, and to remain in one place and to pray there: that was Anselm the monk. "Let a monk," he says, "rejoice in finding himself where he can remain for the rest of his life." Yet this singleness of quest never isolated him from people, from the world. To the selflessness of the quest for God there belongs the selflessness of human caring and compassion, sometimes with severity and always with love and wisdom. Not as one alone, but as one whose life is shared, can Anselm say:

God of truth,
I ask that I may receive
So that my joy may be full.
Let my mind search it out,
Let my heart love it
Let my mouth speak it
Let my soul hunger for it
My flesh thirst for it
My whole being desire it
Until I enter the joy of the Lord

Who is God, one and true, blessed for ever.

Every human faculty is drawn into this quest of God, praying, caring, reasoning as well. Reason is the free action of the mind in its integrity, and reason is no less a part of the adoration of God. Here again, reasoning man has his fellow men, and reasoning includes dialogue: the exchange of mind and person with person. So the theologian cannot help being the pastor as well, for it takes a person to learn the truth and to share it with others.

So the vast range of Anselm, student, monk, abbot, bishop, statesman, has at its root a single principle: the monk's quest of God. But what of the statesman? What of the conflicts with a Rufus and a Henry? Here surely, you say, is another life, another world, another talent, as when to-day sometimes an academic is persuaded to leave his study and teaching for the strange world of church leadership. No. Strangely different as is

the tale of Anselm the statesman from the tale of Anselm the monk of Bec, there is at the heart of his state craft the singleness of purpose of one who, when faced with claims which invade the rights of God said simply: no, no, no, and yet again no, no, no.

Looking at the subsequent centuries it has indeed been possible to admire Anselm greatly and yet to feel the limitations of his impact and of his meaning for the present day. It is difficult to point to the elements of datedness in some of his writings, for instance, the *Cur Deus Homo*, though the discussion of Anselm's theology has sometimes suffered from being studied in isolation rather than in the context of the man and his spirituality. As to statesmanship, the difference between the times and the tasks of Anselm and of our own day are about as big as can be. In his world for all its confusion, the issues before the Christian statesman were fairly simple. To-day the complexities of the political and social and moral scene are vaster by far as are the issues which Christianity has to face. Nor is it so clear that the Benedictine way as Anselm knew it has a kind of timeless universality, for a kind of cultural tinge may belong to most spiritual movements.

Yet how great are the themes of Anselm which stand and speak now to our contemporary need.

One is his fearless integrity in the use of reason. In a modern way some words of F. J. A. Hort express this. "Truth of revelation remains inert until it has been appropriated by a human working of recognition which it is hard to distinguish from that of discovery." If Anselm would not quite have said that, here are other words of Hort which may be nearer to Anselm. "The truth of God revealed in Christ calls not for the separate exercise of a unique faculty but for the response of every power by which we can root ourselves and hold converse with whatever is not ourselves." Hort might be describing Anselm himself when he says in the same Hulsean Lecture, "A life devoted to truth is a life of vanities abused and ambitions forsworn." Both for Anselm and for Hort the reason which thinks about God is a part of the self which seeks God in adoration.

Next to integrity Anselm shows how theology and pastoral care belong together. Nothing is sadder in our contemporary theological scene in England than the frequent going apart of academic theology from spirituality and pastoral responsibility. Nothing could sadden Anselm more than this trend, and it is a trend sadly unlike the great names of English divinity in successive epochs. It is not just a question of drawing together those who are called academics and those who are called pastors or churchmen. Anselm shows that the question is the nature of theology itself. Theology is not only the study of theologians but the knowledge of God in all that bears upon that knowledge and all that shares it with human beings. The nature of theology itself shows that the theologian is one with the man of prayer and the pastor of souls.

But the contemporary message of Anselm is a message not only for the schools but for every one. It is Anselm himself who speaks by being who he is: man in the presence of God and man linked with his fellows. Man in the presence of God: Anselm's devotions tell of this, and the more widely they can be known the better. Man linked with his fellows: the letters tell of this and the more their spirit is known and spread the better. If contemplation is recovering its place in the Christian life, and I believe it is, nothing can help us more than Anselm's own approach.

Come now little man,
Turn aside a while from your daily tasks,
Especially for a moment from the tumult of your thoughts,
Put aside your weighty cares
Let your distractions wait,
Free yourself awhile for God
Rest awhile in him.
Enter the inner chamber of your soul
Shut out everything except God
And that which can help you in seeking him
And when you have shut the door, seek him.
Now, my whole heart, say to God
I seek your face
Lord, it is your face I seek.

Close the door. It is from this that many shrink: close the door. But closing the door in contemplation comes with opening the heart in compassion.

It is the man Anselm who speaks. We see him as the eager student, the surrendered monk, the living body, the friend and counsellor, the serious thinker, the coming to England, the courageous no, no, no, the exile, the victory for the Church. By his victory Anselm ensured that Christianity in England continued to be part of the larger church life of Christianity in Europe. We see him also as he comes to die. "Lord, Father, we understand you are to leave the world for your Lord's Easter court," they say to him on Palm Sunday. He replies, "If his will be so I will gladly obey his will. But if he wills rather that I should remain among you, at least till I have solved a question I am turning in my mind, I shall receive it, for I know not who will find it after I have gone." Comparisons have been made with the story of Richard Hooker's dying. "He did not beg a long life for any other reason but to live to finish his three remaining books of polity and 'Lord let thy servant depart in peace'." He died "meditating the order and number of the angels, from blessed obedience and order, without which peace could not be in heaven and O that it might be so on earth." Anselm and Hooker, here indeed are men of unity, and to-day the growing friendship of Bec and Canterbury is the promise of a more wonderful unity still to be recovered. Anselm shows the unity of the little and the great, the dying creature and the infinite creator, for indeed the glory of God is a living Man and the life of Man is the vision of God.

THE 'RE-OPENING' OF THE CHOIR (1180-1980)

The last few years have seen important centenaries for Canterbury Cathedral and 1980 is no exception. 800 years ago, on Easter Eve 1180, the new choir of William of Sens was formally entered, just six years after the great fire. The blessing of the new high Altar on that chill April morn marked the commencement of eight centuries of Christian worship within the present choir:

"The convent was by the flames expelled from the Choir, like Adam out of paradise, in the year of GOD'S word 1174, in the month of SEPTEMBER, on the fifth day of the month, about nine o'clock. The convent remained in the Nave of the Church five years, seven months, thirteen days. It returned into the new Choir in the year of grace 1180, in the month of April, on the nineteenth day of the month, about nine o'clock, on EASTER EVE." (Gervase).

The detailed description of the event written by Gervase, a monk of Christ Church, appears as part of his eye-witness account of the Burning and Repair of Christ Church, Canterbury. Gervase was primarily concerned with the progress of construction and his unique record provides a blow by blow account of each building season, listing the number of columns erected and vaults built in each year, as well as some insights into the constructional methods of the period. After describing the progress of the fifth year of the operation, 1179, he relates how the monks wished to re-enter the choir, though it was hardly ready for them. They persuaded the new architect, William the Englishman, to partition the completed section of the choir so that they might occupy it:

"And the master, perceiving their desires, set himself manfully to work, to satisfy the wishes of the convent. He constructed, with all diligence, the wall which encloses the choir and presbytery. He erected the three altars of the presbytery. He carefully prepared a resting-place for St. Dunstan and St. Alphege. A wooden wall to keep out the weather was set up transversely between the penultimate pillars at the eastern part, and had three glass windows in it.

The choir, thus hardly completed even with the greatest labour and diligence, the monks were resolved to enter on Easter Eve with the new fire. As all that was required could not be fully performed on the Saturday because of the solemnities of that sacred day, it became necessary that our holy fathers and patrons, St. Dunstan and St. Alphege, the co-exiles of the monks, should be transferred to the new choir beforehand. Prior Alan, therefore, taking with him nine of the brethren of the church in whom he could trust, went by night to the tombs of the saints, that he might not be incommoded by a

crowd, and having locked the doors of the church, he commanded the stone-work that enclosed them to be taken down.

The monks and servants of the church therefore, in obedience to the Prior's commands, took the structure to pieces, opened the stone coffins of the saints, and bore their relics to the vestiarius. Then, having removed the cloths in which they had been wrapped, and which were half consumed from age and rottenness, they covered them with other and more handsome palls, and bound them with linen bands. They bore the saints, thus prepared, to their altars, and deposited them in wooden chests, covered within and without with lead; which chests, thus lead-covered, and strongly bound with iron, were enclosed in stone-work that was consolidated with melted lead. Queen Ediva also, who had been placed under the altar of the Holy Cross after the fire, was similarly conveyed to the vestiarius. These things were done on the night preceding the fifth *feria* before the holy Easter; that is, on the sixteenth calend of May. On the morrow, however, when this translation of the saints became known to the whole convent, they were exceedingly astonished and indignant that it should have been done without their consent, for they had intended that the translation of the fathers should have been performed with great and devout solemnity.

They cited the prior and those who were with him, before the venerable Archbishop Richard, to answer for the slight thus presumptuously cast upon themselves and the holy patrons of the church, and endeavoured to compel the prior and his assistants to renounce their offices. But by the intervention of the Archbishop and other men of authority, and after due apology and repentance, the convent was appeased; and harmony being thus restored, the service of Holy Saturday was performed in the Chapter-house, because the station of the monks and the altar which had been in the nave of the church, were removed to prepare for the solemnities of the following Easter Sunday. About the sixth hour the archbishop in cope and mitre, and the convent in albs, according to the custom of the church, went in procession to the new fire, and having consecrated it, proceeded towards the new choir with the appointed hymn. At the door of the church, which opens into the martyrrium of St. Thomas, the archbishop reverently received from a monk the pyx, with the Eucharist, which was usually suspended over the great Altar. This he carried to the great Altar of the new choir. Thus our Lord went before us into Galilee, that is in our transmigration to the new church. The remainder of the offices that appertain to the day were devoutly celebrated. And then the pontiff, standing at the Altar and vested with the *infula*, began the *Te Deum laudamus*; and the bells ringing, the convent took up the song with great joy, and shedding sweet tears, they praised God with voice and heart for all His benefits."

Under the circumstances it is difficult to imagine why the monks pressed for the re-entry into the choir in 1180, when the new choir took only four more years to be completely finished. Had 1180 some special significance to them, perhaps the tenth anniversary of the murder of St. Thomas? The choice of April 19th had more to commend itself, for it was the Feast of St. Alphege, the first martyred archbishop of Canterbury, and in 1180 it fell on Holy Saturday. But was this the sole reason for promoting the occupation of the choir so soon, or had it been the original deadline agreed with the first architect William of Sens?

Despite the smooth flow of construction recorded by Gervase, the building of the new choir had not proceeded according to the original plans. The building had been begun only after considerable hesitation on the part of the monks, who were unwilling at first to demolish any sections of the previous choir. But William of Sens finally persuaded them to allow him to construct a new Gothic choir within the shell of the romanesque work. The whole of the first year, from the late Autumn of 1174, was occupied with the demolition of the burnt fabric, and in the preparation of stones and building machinery for the new work. From the second year, 1175/6, construction progressed rapidly, so much that by 1178 the bays of the choir proper, the five bays between the central tower and the eastern crossing, were built and vaulted. With the work proceeding at such speed, it must have been possible for William to propose a date for the early completion of the monastic choir and presbytery. What William of Sens had not foreseen was the necessity to rethink some of the most important elements of his design. During the summer of 1177, William had built the triforium and clerestorey windows of the five western bays and upon these he erected the existing high vaults. At some stage, however, he completely changed the method by which the high vaults were supported, and abandoned his first design in favour of a simpler form. The original design called for barrel-vaulted tribunes to be placed over the choir aisles, buttressing the high vault and providing exterior windows to light the triforium gallery. This somewhat archaic solution proved to be too cumbersome and restricting, yet the tribunes were completed along the length of the south choir aisle. The vaults above the north aisle were also begun but were subsequently torn down. William decided to eliminate the vaulted tribune storey above the aisle altogether, and to replace it with a simple lean-to shed roof over the aisle, broken by strong buttressing walls that rise above the aisle roof — a rare feature in French Gothic, though they could once be seen on the Cathedrals of Arras and Cambrai. When William had adopted the new buttressing system of the north choir aisle he prepared similar buttresses over both the north and south aisles of the presbytery. This dramatic change of heart, involving the demolition of completed structure, occurred within the space of a few months in 1177, that is if Gervase is to

be believed. It must also denote that the south side of the choir was somewhat in advance of the north, though Gervase is silent on this. His interest was with progress, not indecision. But such radical alterations must have set back the building schedule, and the timetable recalled by Gervase when writing his account some twenty years after the event, may have become slightly regimented with the passage of time.

In September 1178, William was up on the scaffolding preparing the machinery for the erection of the crossing vault:

“ . . . the scaffold on a sudden gave way, and he came to the ground from the height of the crown of the upper arch, which is fifty feet. Being grievously bruised, he was utterly unable to attend to the work. No one but himself received the least hurt. Either the vengeance of GOD or the envy of the Devil, wreaked itself on him alone. Master William, being thus hurt, entrusted the completion of the work to a certain ingenious Monk, who was overseer of the rough masons; which occasioned him much envy and ill-will. The architect, nevertheless, lying in bed, gave orders what was first, and what last, to be done. . . . At length, finding no benefit from the skill and attention of his surgeons, he gave up the work, and crossing the sea, went home to France”.

This second delay further frustrated the monks in their hopes for an early return to their monastic stalls, but there was yet more to come. By the time a new architect had been appointed in the summer of 1179, it had been decided to enlarge the new eastern chapel beyond that proposed and begun by William of Sens. Furthermore, it had been agreed that the body of St. Thomas should be removed from the crypt and placed in a great shrine beyond the new high Altar. Faced with the commencement of a whole new east end, larger and more ambitious than that proposed in 1174, the monks were probably wise to press for their re-entry in 1180, even though the building was quite unfinished—after all, they had no way of knowing how long this new project would continue. In an age when nothing was predictable and architectural ambition was so often thwarted by financial or political uncertainties, the monks of Christ Church opted for half a choir now, rather than the vague hope of a completed building at some date in the future.

As it happened, William the Englishman built with almost unbelievable speed, the whole chapel and its eastern tower being completed in only four building seasons. Master William, like his predecessor, was doubtless an expert in both wood and stone, and he was responsible for fitting out the new choir with its screen and altars. Nothing remains of the high Altar, nor of the altar-shrines that flanked it. The tiny wooden altar now at

Adisham may well have been one of the minor altars made for the choir. In recent years other sculptural fragments have come to light that may have come from the pulpitum screen at the western entrance of the choir. Half-figures of Kings set into quartrefoils may have formed a frieze or cornice for such a screen whilst the remains of at least two seated archbishops suggests that figures of saints, perhaps the canonised archbishops of Canterbury, once flanked the main door. Some of these fragments are at present on show in the crypt, together with numerous architectural fragments that probably came from a great cloister built by Wibert.

But if little survives of the magnificent fittings made by William the Englishman, the building itself remains almost untouched—and is the only monument to the two men who, in a space of a decade, transformed the architecture of England, and who gave to Canterbury a building “in the highest degree praiseworthy”.

FRANCIS WOODMAN

GERMANIC TOWERS

The eastward elongation of Canterbury Cathedral early in the twelfth century was one of the most important processes in the building's architectural history. Despite the great fire of 1174, and the later rebuilding and final eastward extension under William of Sens and William the Englishman, the work initiated shortly before 1100 determined the whole later character of the cathedral's eastern limb. What is still of great interest, and may not yet be generally realised, is the exact character of the eastern termination of what came to be known as "Conrad's glorious choir." Visual evidence for this eastern end comes from the well known waterworks sketch of the 1160s; one can, perhaps, deduce some more points from what may have been the background and career of one of the Benedictine priors responsible for the cathedral's significant lengthening.

The new eastern limb was started, under Prior Ernulf, about 1096. As usual in such cases work started on the crypt which was probably finished, about 1105, in a severe version of Anglo-Norman architecture and without the decoration of its shafts and capitals which came later in the twelfth century. But in the eastern part of the crypt, immediately west of the chapel of St. Gabriel and its equivalent chapel on the northern side, one has the foundation courses of what turned out to be the most novel, and un-Norman, feature of the new eastern limb.

Though Ernulf was Prior of the cathedral monastery when this eastern limb was started he did not see it finished, for in 1107 he left Canterbury to become abbot of Peterborough. His successor, under whom most of the new work was done, and finished by 1126, was Prior Conrad. His Germanic name suggests a non-Norman influence on the design of one important feature of the new elongation.

As Conrad became prior in 1107 he was probably, by that time, well in the prime of life. He may have been born in the 1060s and professed soon after 1080. We have no details of his earlier monastic career, but he could, when he was elected to the headship of so important a Benedictine monastery, have already held some leading conventual office. If, for example, he was sacrist he would, in that capacity, have been responsible for supervising the fabric, perhaps with a strong influence on the design of the new eastern limb. If, as his name suggests, he was of German origin he could have drawn some points from what he could have seen in the Rhineland and elsewhere in western Germany.

It is now realised that the builders of our great Anglo-Norman churches drew Continental inspiration from areas other than Normandy, particularly from the "Lotharingian" territory now represented by the Rhineland and large parts of the Netherlands.

Flanking towers, transeptal (as at Old Sarum and Exeter), at the eastern end of aisles (as at Hereford) or just East of transepts (as at Llandaff and probably at St. Augustine's Abbey, Bristol) also imposing *westwerken* both came from this source. More unusual, but none the less Rhenish, were tall thin towers closely flanking eastern apses. It seems certain, from the sketch which accompanies the drawing of the Canterbury waterworks, that they were present on each side of the eastern apse of Ernulf and Conrad's new presbytery limb. The foundations at crypt level also suggest that these towers, whose top sections were probably rebuilt west of the eastern transepts after 1174 (See Canterbury Cathedral Chronicle, 1977, pp. 27-34) were planned from the beginning, under Ernulf as prior but perhaps with Conrad in the office of sacrist.

There were several German precedents for the flanking towers which Ernulf and Conrad erected close to the east end of their "periapsidal" sanctuary; these have been well recounted by Dr. K. J. Conant in his "Carolingian and Romanesque Architecture (800-1200)". At Magdeburg the tenth century cathedral once had towers flanking the eastern apse, and similar towers, linked over the roof by a wall of the type which commonly connects towers in German mediaeval churches, occur at Gernrode. The cathedral at Mainz, which is arranged, like the early Roman basilicas, on a West-East orientation, was rebuilt after a fire in 1009 and has towers of that period flanking the eastern end, i.e. that away from the High Altar. At Worms two arcaded towers, very similar to those later built at Canterbury, stand on each side of an arcaded apse. Most important, in a cathedral much damaged in the seventeenth century but later restored, are the two tall round towers close on each side of the eastern apse of the great cathedral at Speyer, started about 1030 under the Emperor Conrad II and important as the *eigenkirche* of the emperors of the Franconian house. This imposing church was dedicated in 1061, two western towers having been added by this time. Allowing for an eastern limb much shorter than that later built at Canterbury the resulting silhouette resembled that of Canterbury Cathedral, with its five towers, as shown in the waterworks sketch. A century later, when the drawing of Prior Wibert's waterworks was made, and while Becket was Archbishop, the combined efforts of Ernulf and Conrad, perhaps mainly the latter, had given the eastern end of England's most ambitious cathedral two eastern towers, whose lower stages still show that they, unlike the eastern towers at Speyer, were square in plan, but which none the less gave Canterbury a strongly Rhenish appearance.

BRYAN LITTLE

ST. PAUL AT CYZICUS: AN ELUCIDATION OF HOLY WRIT, VIA CANTERBURY

Of the Jews five times received I forty stripes save one. Thrice was I beaten with rods, once was I stoned, thrice I suffered shipwreck, a night and a day I have been in the deep.

Authorised version (II Corinthians, XI, vv. 24-5).

. . . have I been in the deep. R.V.

. . . nychthemeron en to bytho pepoieka.

Greek New Testament, as in ancient versions (e.g. the Sinai Codex) and modern editions.

. . . nocte et die in profundo maris fui.

The Vulgate (ancient and modern versions).

. . . adrift at sea for a whole night and day.

Dr. J. Moffatt's translation (1913).

. . . a night and a day I have been adrift at sea.

Revised Standard Version (1952).

. . . I have been once adrift in the open sea for a night and a day.

Jerusalem Bible (1966).

The Venerable Bede recounts that Deusdedit, Archbishop of Canterbury died in 664, and that Wigheard a member of his household was chosen as successor and despatched to Rome for confirmation. There he too died, and Pope Vitalian turned to Hadrian, Abbot of a monastery near Naples, asking him to take his place. Hadrian modestly declined, and a choice was eventually made of Theodore, a monk from the 'no mean city' of Tarsus, fellow-citizen therefore of St. Paul. The choice was a great act of inspiration, despite indications to the contrary, for Theodore was already 66, and came from a Mediterranean background utterly alien to the chill, foggy north with its illiterate warring tribesmen.

However, there were some misgivings. Theodore was an eastern Christian and wore the wrong kind of tonsure, an outward and visible sign of possible doctrinal differences. The problem was soon resolved by allowing his hair to grow and administering a different cut. However, the Pope insisted that Abbot Hadrian should accompany Theodore and make sure of his orthodoxy.

The two set out, following different routes, and it was over a year before Theodore reached his Cathedral church at Canterbury, on Sunday 27 May 669.

The new Archbishop soon showed his great administrative gifts, riding with unbounded energy all over England to inspect the young church. To him tribal divisions were of little significance, and he laid down boundaries of dioceses with no great regard for limits of Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. Not only did he show great skill and persuasiveness in organisation, but in company with Hadrian he launched into an educational programme. Canterbury was already a well-known cultural centre possessing splendid books but to all this the newcomer from Tarsus was able to add Greek learning.

Students, some of them already very distinguished, flocked to Canterbury from far and wide. Among these mature men was the celebrated scholar Aldhelm who removed himself from Malmsbury to Canterbury for advanced study. In this age Ireland had kept alive the flame of European culture but Aldhelm, writing to a friend who had just come back thence to England, demands in effect, 'Why cross the sea to Ireland, when you can be taught at Canterbury?'

In fact the Irish themselves were now repairing to this city for study as demonstrated in the same letter of Aldhelm which depicts Archbishop Theodore expounding difficult points to a milling crowd of Irish students hurling questions at him, like some fierce boar under attack by hounds.

In Bede's days (in the early eighth century) the young men who had once resorted to Canterbury for training were now dispersed throughout the English church. He knew some of them in the far north, and remarked that they could still speak Latin and Greek 'just like their own native tongue'. Canterbury, between the two *foci* of Cathedral and St. Augustine's Abbey, was to all intents and purposes the first University of the English-speaking world, at a time when, in Dean Stanley's ringing words, 'Cambridge was a desolate fen, and Oxford a tangled forest in a wide waste of waters'.

The various groups of young people who traverse Lady Wootton's Green to-day discussing their studies ought to realise that they are heirs to an extraordinary tradition of scholarship deeply embedded in the very foundations of British learning.

We would give much to know details of the curriculum of work at Canterbury in this golden age. Bede mentions general headings such as 'ecclesiastical poetry, astronomy and arithmetic', with the 'right rule of life' and (his great pre-occupation) the canonical customs of celebrating Easter. Aldhelm himself gives main subject-headings, such as Roman law, metre, music, mathematics (including fractions, which Aldhelm found hard), astronomy, astrology, and so forth, all so exciting that he decided not to go home to Malmsbury for Christmas in A.D. 671.

However, it now appears that some more precise if fragmentary details may yet be recovered relating to teaching at Canterbury. We know of Theodore and Hadrian from the pages of Bede. He himself acknowledges information derived through Albinus, monk of St. Augustine's Abbey who became Abbot there in 708. It was certainly Albinus who passed on to Bede, to be embodied in his *Ecclesiastical History*, the traditions current among the monks in his time, particularly the precious information of the arrival of the missionaries in 597, and how they came into Canterbury singing their anthem, holding aloft their cross and displaying their *mandylion* with the image of the Saviour.

But not everything discovered by Bede about Theodore was incorporated in the *History*. There is a group of works often printed in common with Bede's authentic products which have

been dismissed as 'doubtful or spurious' in different editions, such as for example, Migne's *Patrologia Latina*. One of these is known as the *Liber Quæstionum*.

In a paper published in the unhappy days of 1919 this item was rehabilitated as Bede's work by the distinguished German historian and palæographer Paul Lehmann. The text suggests that long years after Theodore's time, his one-time auditors at Canterbury were still telling of the lectures they had listened to, as will ex-students throughout their lives, in any age or country.

In the *Liber Quæstionum* there is a passage where Bede comments on the text, *a night and a day I have been in the deep*. He remarks,

I have heard certain men assert that Theodore of blessed memory, a very learned man and once Archbishop of the English people, expounded the saying thus. There was *in Zizico* a certain very deep pit, dug for the punishment of criminals, which on account of its immense depth was called 'The Depth of the Sea' (*profundum maris*). It was the filth and darkness of this which Paul bore amongst other things for Christ.

'Zizicus' may readily be identified with Cyzicus on the mushroom-shaped peninsula visible on maps at the southern side of the Sea of Marmora, between the Hellespont and the Bosphorus, south-west of Constantinople across the water. The site is now deserted and the nearest inhabited place is the modern Turkish settlement of Erde.

In antiquity Cyzicus was one of the splendid cities of Asia Minor, ranking with Nicæa, Tarsus or even Ephesus. The peninsula was originally an offshore island, but through silting and construction work a causeway developed linking it to the mainland. The original island is mountainous, rising to a peak some 2,500 feet above sea level. The city itself occupied the southern slopes, facing the mainland.

Cyzicus earned great credit with the Romans, for in the first century B.C. it fiercely resisted their enemy Mithridates, King of Pontus, and was endowed in reward with jurisdiction over a wide area, including Mysia the district lying along the shores of the Sea of Marmora, or Propontis as St. Paul would have known it. Mysia was flanked on the west by the Aegean Sea, and on the east by Bithynia. To the south of the sea lay a rolling coastal plain backed by inhospitable mountain ranges.

As the centuries went by Cyzicus suffered disasters. Plague, warfare and earthquakes took their toll and the city decayed. The last inhabitants drifted away in the sixth century, in the days of the Emperor Justinian.

St. Paul was in this area more than once, though no actual mention of Cyzicus is to be found in Acts or the Epistles. Hither he came on his second missionary journey passing up through Tarsus, Derbe, Lystra and Iconium to Antioch in Pisidia (south of Galatia), and thence north-westwards into Phrygia.

Now when they had gone throughout Phrygia and the region of Galatia and were forbidden by the Holy Ghost to preach the word in Asia, after they were come to Mysia they assayed to go into Bithynia; but the Spirit suffered them not. And they passing by Mysia came down to Troas . . . and a vision appeared unto Paul . . . There stood a man . . . saying, Come over into Macedonia and help us.

(Acts, XVI, vv. 6-9).

It is hazardous to build very much upon the geographical information supplied in this passage as the boundaries of the areas named were indeterminate or fluctuating. It does almost sound, however, as if Paul (and Silas) were heading north-westward from Antioch in Pisidia, and veered towards the Euxine or Black Sea, making for Bithynia along its southern shore, when they were stopped in their tracks by divine intervention (possibly somewhere in the area of the modern Ankara), whereupon they turned westward.

Maps of St. Paul's travels regularly show the most unlikely straight lines on this leg of his second great journey, crossing impassable mountain ranges with complete disdain. It is possible that the travellers worked a painful way up passes and defiles in the western massif, but if they approached or reached the latitude of Ankara then it is likely that they turned westward towards Dorylæum (now Eskisehir), thence to Bursa and so to the Mysian coastal plain. In such case they must have drawn within striking distance of Cyzicus on their path to Troas, and have been well within its area of jurisdiction.

Now Cyzicus was one of the great cult-centres of the Mediterranean Mother-Goddess, and was a place where promoters of any strange religion would be most unwelcome. Here Paul could undoubtedly have run into difficulties since gossip about his troublesome visits to Lystra and other cities must certainly have travelled along the trade routes of Asia Minor, even if he did not actually settle down to preach, as he could hardly do after commands from above.

It must be conceded that the tradition reported by Theodore of Tarsus falls long in time after the event described, more than six centuries in fact. Yet tradition can last longer, especially in a society with less to think about than our own. It must be admitted that Theodore was a local man, even if Tarsus of Cilicia is some 600 miles from Cyzicus, but traffic from the whole province was forced through the narrow confines of the Cilician Gates, and the native place of both Paul and Theodore was a change-house for news from all over Asia Minor.

The fearsome penal device, the terrible and deep pit, would have been well-known, and its name 'The Depth of the Sea' could have had the same kind of currency as in our own day, the terms 'Newgate', 'Clink', 'the Moor' or 'the Scrubs', which might be as misleading to later generations.

It is not impossible that Paul's misadventure could have occurred on the third missionary journey. He stationed himself for a long time at Ephesus, and it is clear from hints elsewhere in the New Testament that more happened to him there than involvement in the riot at the theatre. If he went out preaching, using Ephesus as a base, then he could well have reached Cyzicus, no more than 150 miles away, nothing to a traveller such as the Apostle.

At all events, a new *détour* or visit can now be attributed to him. It is remarkable that the evidence has failed to attract the attention of commentators and translators, for it has been standing in print since 1563 (in the great Basel edition of Bede's works) and from 1864 has been accessible in Migne's vast corpus of texts, available in most important libraries. On the basis of Theodore's remark, reported by Bede, it can now be affirmed that the term 'deep' appears to have no connection with the salt sea. What the Saint meant and what his readers at Corinth would have understood him to convey was this:

I have spent twenty-four hours in the punishment-pit at Cyzicus, called the 'Depth of the Sea'.

Commentators have remarked upon Paul's use of the perfect tense, suggesting that the experience was fairly recent, and whatever it might have been, shipwreck or anything else, it was still obsessive and terrible.

It would be re-assuring if any other reference to the 'Depth' at Cyzicus could be found in ancient literature, but we have been unable to locate an unambiguous mention. However, there is what may be either a distorted rendering of the same incident, or even a like misadventure of the Apostle at another place.

According to Acts (XIV, v. 19) on his first journey Paul preached at Lystra, but certain Jews came down from Antioch (in Pisidia) and from Iconium (respectively about one hundred, and about thirty miles away), and so inflamed the mob against Paul that they stoned him, dragged him out of the city and left him for dead. However, he came to, and managed to walk back into the city again. He left the next day to make for Derbe lying about thirty miles eastward, but after preaching there displayed great courage in returning to Lystra.

The Byzantine biblical commentator Theophylact who was Archbishop of Bulgaria during the eleventh century, annotated (among other books) Corinthians II. When he came to the passage *a night and a day I have been in the deep*, he remarked that there were certain persons who said that after his perilous experience among the Lystrians, Paul was hidden in a pit or well called 'bythos', i.e. the 'deep'. Theophylact seems to believe that this 'deep' was not so much a place of punishment, but a refuge where the Apostle lay concealed from his enemies.

Is this in fact the same story transferred in popular report over a long period of time from Cyzicus to Lystra? It is now no less than a thousand years away from the original incident, and variations could have crept in. It was well-known to readers of Acts that the stoning (listed in Corinthians II in close conjunction with the 'deep') took place at Lystra, while Cyzicus finds no mention in the Scriptures. Moreover the time-table of events at Lystra would be an attraction, for Paul was stoned one day and left the next, fitting in very well with a mention of a night and a day spent in the 'deep'. Perhaps a 'deep' was standard penal equipment in local cities.

There are other traces of Theodore's teaching at Canterbury based on his own oriental knowledge. Readers of the Authorised Version have ever been puzzled by the improbable 'coney' of Leviticus XI, v. 5 with his un-rabbit-like hooves.

Another German scholar, Professor B. Bischoff, discovered a manuscript in the Ambrosian Library at Milan wherein it was asserted, following Theodore, that the beast, called 'choerogryllus' in the Vulgate was in fact a creature like a pig and that it dwelt in the mountain crevasses of Sinai desert. As for the melons in that catalogue of vegetables in Numbers, XI, 5, which are called 'pepones' in the Vulgate, they are, so Archbishop Theodore disclosed, indeed melons but of a species so huge that a camel could scarcely carry two at a time.

It will be natural to ask if the 'Depth of the Sea' at Cyzicus can be identified to-day, but it is hard to seek. There has not been a full archaeological report upon this pregnant site. The early Victorian geologist William John Hamilton, F.G.S., camped here with his followers, and embodied some notes in his *Researches in Asia Minor*, etc. published in two volumes by John Murray in 1842. F. W. Hasluck brought out a fuller account in his *Cyzicus* (1910), and there have been detailed descriptions of individual excavations since, such as B. Ashmole's account (1956), of the vast Temple of Hadrian of which the base alone survives.

But to-day travellers report Cyzicus as a remote area of orchards and olive groves, amid which rise enormous outcrops of stone, once public buildings of the populous Graeco-Roman city, haunted by seabirds. But the 'Depth of the Sea' is not to be identified, and no doubt it caved in long centuries ago under impact of the numerous earthquakes which have afflicted Asia Minor through the ages.

Footnotes to the above have been omitted to save space. They have been added to copies in the Cathedral and City Libraries, Canterbury, and in the History Faculty Library, Oxford.

WILLIAM URRY

NOTES ON THE GRAFFITI OF CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL

Canterbury Cathedral is rich in its remarkable graffiti, many of which date from the late twelfth or early thirteenth centuries and are of an esoteric character which leads one to speculate on their underlying significance. There are, for instance, at least eight representations of St. John in the bosom of Christ at the Last Supper; and at least three of the Eagle of St. John: these are dispersed all over the twelfth century Cathedral, and appear to the inexperienced eye as if they were all by the same hand. (It is worth remembering that St. John was held in great devotion by the Knights Templar who were very powerful in and around Canterbury). The trouble is that no expert survey of the Canterbury graffiti has ever been made. The time for such a survey is overdue.

The Canterbury Cathedral Chronicle No. 62 for 1967 contains an article on the medieval graffiti by J. Horsfall, who states that he and his brother made a stone by stone survey when they were boys at the King's School between 1960 and 1964. This article is of great interest, but leaves many important questions outstanding, the chief of these being the motive for making so many drawings of the same subject. Mr. Turner understandably rejects the suggestion that these graffiti were the underdrawings for wall-paintings. It seems highly unlikely that there were paintings of the Last Supper all over the Cathedral. Moreover one of the finest examples is situated behind a column in the Trinity Chapel, in so dark and cramped a position that a painter could scarcely have worked there, even had he chosen so odd a place for the central figures of his scheme.

The complete list made by Mr. Turner and his brother is to be found in the Cathedral Library (Additional Manuscripts 117). Dr. William Urry has made his own list. It is important to realise that the graffiti (masons' marks, inscriptions and incised drawings) are so numerous, and in many cases so difficult to see, that everyone is likely to produce his or her own findings. Looking for these treasures is a kind of game, not unlike the old picture-book game of picking out faces in trees. The present Notes have no scholarly pretensions whatsoever. They are intended merely as an indication of what is to be found — in the course of many hours and with the aid of a strong torch.

Masons' marks and tiny geometrical symbols proliferate all over the building. We shall concentrate here on the pictorial graffiti, starting with the Last Supper on the wall as one ascends from the SW transept to the S. Quire aisle. Eight heads may be counted in this group. The drawing is surprisingly low down on the wall. The Turner article states that the original stairs were

steeper than the present flight. Even so, one must again question the likelihood of a *painting* being in this position.

At the top of the steps, on the right, the furthest east in the line of wall arcading contains a graffito of three halo'd heads. Whether or not one of the haloes is distinguished by the cross which would mark it as belonging to the Christ, I am not able to make out.

Proceeding to the SE transept, we come to the magnificent Eagle of St. John in the Chapel of St. Gregory now a memorial to Archbishop Fisher. This Eagle is 43 ins. square. The Horsfall Turner article states that part of a drawing of a legendary bird called the Charadrus is visible high up on the wall of the S. Quire aisle. I have been unable to find this.

An exceptionally interesting example of a complex group appears within the second arcade on one's right as one mounts the so-called 'Pilgrims' Steps'. This is a Christ and St. John, in which Christ holds up the Host in His left hand, and in His right the Chalice, from which emerges a crowned Eagle of St. John. Below this group is a crowned and Crucified Christ, showing the figure by itself, without the Cross behind it. (Mr. Turner advances the theory that the 'St. John' of this group is actually St. Thomas of Canterbury: this on the ground that the figure appears to be wearing archiepiscopal vestments). A little further east, on a small pillar round the corner, there is unquestionably an archbishop, probably Becket, with a pastoral staff and one hand raised in blessing.

On a wall opposite the tomb of the Black Prince is an inscription dated 1350, which Dr. Urry states to be the record of a pilgrim knight. One is constantly wondering which of these graffiti were simply drawn by a passing pilgrim and which were the work of masons or monks who were carrying out some specific task. Above all, what *can* be the explanation of all these representations of Christ with St. John? Were they, perhaps, the fulfilment of some vow or penance? Proceeding anti-clockwise round the ambulatory of the Trinity Chapel, we come to the second wall-column west of the Corona staircase, behind which is perhaps the most remarkable of all these 'Johannine' groups. This includes rows of chalices and egg-shaped loaves. (These chalices and loaves, the way they are arranged on the table and the folds of the tablecloth visible below them, are strongly reminiscent of a twelfth century painting of the Last Supper in St. Martin's Zillis, Switzerland.) Further west, behind the column adjoining the Henry IV Chapel, is a well-preserved graffito of a hatchet with a long tapering handle. There is one like it, but less finely drawn, directly beneath it in the Crypt.

In the Chapel of St. Martin in the NE transept, the 'Lanfranc' and 'Ediva' inscriptions are well-known. Another graffito to be noted in this part of the Cathedral is what Dr. Urry calls a 'figure

of Christ above the jasper bracket at the north entrance to the Choir'. I cannot myself see this as a figure of Christ (it looks to me more like three horseshoes in a row); but I bow to Dr. Urry's immensely superior knowledge, wondering in that case why he mentions one only. Are the other two later imitations? Or am I after all looking in the wrong place? This is all part of the fun. What is less funny is the fact that above these heads (or horseshoes) is a particularly good example of the little 17th century 'houses' which proliferate in various parts of the Cathedral, through which someone has seen fit to drive a nail for no more vital purpose than that of hanging up a notice.

We have now covered the more important examples in the upper part of the building (remembering of course that the more graffiti-hunters we can inspire the longer our list will become). Proceeding to the Eastern Crypt, we find ourselves in the richest hunting-ground of all, starting with the Knight on Horseback in the north entrance. There are said to be five 'Knights' in William's Crypt. I once found a second, much rougher, example; but even this now eludes me. The second 'hatchet' graffito is on the wall round the corner from the Knight. The opposite wall has rough drawings all over it. These extend right round to the west wall of the Eastern Crypt. Meanwhile hours can be spent examining the graffiti in the outer ambulatory between this Crypt and the Chapel of our Lady Undercroft. Here the most remarkable drawing is of a Last Supper extending along both faces of the buttress column on the south side (the one farthest to the right as one faces east). The figures here are not easy to distinguish; but the chalices, loaves and pitchers are numerous and quite distinct.

South of this group is the south entrance to William's Crypt; and here on our left as we go in there is a small 'Christ and St. John', so heavily biro'd that its beauty and even its interest (since one can no longer precisely distinguish between the original and the biro) have been all but lost. To console ourselves, we may now enter the Eastern Crypt itself and, turning round, contemplate the marvellous 'Christ and St. John' which will then confront us on the south side of the entrance (trying to forget that a screw has recently been driven clean through the wrist of the Christ). Further in, on the south side of the west wall, is the most elaborate and best preserved of all these incised drawings, the one known as the 'Christ in Majesty with the symbols of the Four Evangelists'. This has been protected for some time, having been previously defaced (before the days of biro) with red chalk.

There are, of course, graffiti from every century including (unhappily!) our own. The point at which these scratchings cease to be interesting and become deplorable is admittedly indistinct; but it does exist. Still on the 'positive' side of it are those 17th and 18th century 'houses' which I mentioned earlier as being amusingly ubiquitous (a 'house' resembling a child's

drawing, with the date enclosed, and a flag or cross on the point of the roof). Most of these are dispersed between the Chapel of All Saints and the chamber of St. Dunstons Tower. They may have been the work of choir boys or bell-ringers. Of roughly the same date is a drawing of Dover Castle (firmly inscribed as such) to be found within the first arcade to the west of the South Door, directly above the Book of Remembrance.

Finally, we may go outside and passing round 'Kill Canon Corner' (preferably on a hot day when the wind is temporarily abated), go down and examine the 15th century inscription (now protected by a glass screen) on the north wall of the Corona, of which the translation is as follows:

'Here lies Humbert on whom God have mercy. May he live with Christ now that he has been withdrawn from this world. In his mouth were the praises of God, in the evening and in the morning of the day. That of which he sang so well in life hath death revealed to him.'

LOIS LANG-SIMS

CHASSE OF ST. THOMAS

Readers of the Daily Telegraph may have noticed some paragraphs on 29th October last announcing the impending sale of what the British Museum authorities describe as "the most important and possibly the oldest of the shrines of St. Thomas à Becket".

By 'shrine', of course, is not implied anything of the order of the original shrine, swept away by Henry VIII's Commissioners, but a richly ornamented casket or 'chasse' for the reception of relics. The existence of 44 other chasses connected with the cultus of St. Thomas has been traced, but the example sold at Sothebys on 13th December, 1979, is unquestionably the most outstanding of them all. In fact Mr. Richard Camber, the firm's expert in this field, goes so far as to call it 'astonishing.'

It measures 12" x 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ " and follows the normal design for such objects—a house-shaped box, standing on four short gilt feet, the gabled roof being the lid, with a pierced and decorated ridge. The core of the chasse is oak, covered with six plates of engraved gilt metal, decorated in 'champlevé' Limoges enamel in which the prevailing colour is blue.

On the body of the chasse, in front, Thomas stands facing the altar, vested for Mass. The sword of the first knight, which has already shorn off the crown of his head, has descended again, as though to sever his head from his shoulders. The second knight makes to draw his sword from the sheath, while the third advances with an axe upon his shoulder. On the other side of the altar, two monks lift their hands in horror, while above, the soul of the Archbishop, who has now obtained the aureole of martyrdom, is rapt to heaven in a cloud.

The background (as is the rest of the chasse) is powdered with star-like discs, rather reminiscent of the mosaic vault of Galla Placidia's mausoleum in Ravenna.

Upon the front of the lid Thomas, crowned, is lifted in a winding sheet into his tomb, by two monks. Others incense and asperse the body; a bishop or abbot, with crozier blesses it; attendant angels bear the soul aloft.

On the reverse the "star" pattern is repeated, with gilt figures of saints flanking the side and lid panels. All stand beneath round-headed arches and carry books in their hands; the backgrounds are blue. The gables also are decorated; on the left with a Majestas in gilt and blue with multicoloured stars; on the right with architectural features of an arch surmounted by a turret.

The cresting is perforated with four groups of three key-hole shaped openings and enriched with cabochon rock crystals and blue enamel medallions.



The Peterborough Chasse
Photograph by courtesy of Sotheby Parke Bennett & Co., London

The provenance of this relic has been investigated by Mme. Simone Caudron, who was convinced that it had remained in this country since its manufacture. It can be traced with certainty in the 18th C to an old Catholic family called Wye, of St. Neots in Huntingdonshire, whose proximity to Peterborough suggests that in all probability it belonged to the Abbey there before the Reformation. If this is so, it is a reasonable presumption that it was commissioned by Abbot Benedict, formerly of Canterbury, and a friend and devoted adherent of the murdered Archbishop. Benedict is said by Robert of Swaffham to have removed from Canterbury some of St. Thomas' vestments and blood-stained paving from the martyrdom—perhaps the very relics which the chasse was constructed to hold.

It passed from the hands of the Wyes to those of Robert Pulleyn of St. Neots, who was the owner before 1741, to Sir John Cotten, to the antiquary Stukeley, and through a number of other hands until sold by Major H. Chase Meredith at Sothebys in 1930, when it realized £3,000.

It came on the market again as the highlight of the collection of Ernst and Marthe Kofler-Truniger of Lucerne, and at the sale on 13th December last realized £420,000 from an unknown bidder. There is every hope, I am told, that it will remain in this country.

The chasse has been published in the "Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society, No. 490 of 1748, pages 579-581 and tabs I & II; other works having a particular bearing on it are: The Family Memoirs of the Rev. W. Stukeley, 1883, II. Tancred Borenius, St. Thomas Becket in Art, 1932.

M.-M. Gauthier and S. Caudron. Papers in "Thomas Becket" (Actes du Colloque International de Sédieres), 1975.

The Friends of the Cathedral acknowledge, with grateful thanks, receipt of much information from Messrs. Sotheby Parke Bernet & Co., of 34/5 New Bond Street, who have also kindly given permission to reproduce their photograph of the chasse.

J.M.M.

A DOOR, 800 YEARS, NOT 900 YEARS OLD

During the evening visit to the Cathedral, arranged by Canon Ingram Hill for members of the British Archaeological Association on the occasion of their annual conference in April, 1979, Dr. Jane Geddes drew my attention to the large (195 cm high, 85 cm wide) oak door that separates the north choir aisle from the staircase, built in Lanfranc's time (c.1071-1078) which led to the former chapel of St. Blaise. We had collaborated and lectured jointly on the oak panels and decorative ironwork of medieval chests and cupboards in Westminster Abbey, York Minster and other places in England as well as on the famous chest depicting the Battle of Courtrai of 1302. Tree-ring dating had helped to identify the time at which changes in the design and technology of ironwork occurred.

The ironwork of this door appeared to Dr. Geddes to belong to two periods. The C-shaped hinges, with split curled terminals, were typical of Lanfranc's time, but the horizontal straps were of a different style, characteristic of a century later. Their surface is cross-hatched and they end in central lobes with surrounding tendrils. Furthermore, the tendrils fit very badly between the arms of the C hinges. I was asked if, from measurements on the oak door, I could obtain by dendrochronology the approximate date at which the door was constructed.

Measurements in situ on the top edge of this high door required the agility of a monkey. Fortunately, however, the two hinges permitted it to be lifted free. I was therefore able to examine the top and bottom edges of the door at leisure some two weeks later when it was placed horizontally for me in the Chapel of St. Andrew. Of its four boards, two were rather narrow (18 cm wide) and the widest (26½ cm wide) was eroded in places on both edges. I therefore chose the second board from the hinge; its width was 21½ cm and after an hour or two spent in cleaning the top edge, I had counted and marked, in groups of five, the 220 annual growth 'rings' that were present. All were narrow, a favourable condition for matching the sequence of ring-widths and so deriving the approximate date when the oak tree concerned was felled and the door constructed.

The boards were of radial section and averaged 15 mm in thickness. In accordance with medieval practice they were tapered (from about 12 to 17 mm), as in slices of a cake, the inner, pitch end being narrower than the outer, bark end. All the sapwood had been removed before the boards were used for making the door but even so marks of insect attack existed in various places.

Tim Tatton-Brown kindly wrote down the widths of the successive 'rings' as I measured them through an eyepiece placed

against the edge (this operation is tiring for the neck when 220 rings, all less than 1.5 mm wide, need to be measured). As there is the chance that a ring may be missed or counted twice, in the afternoon I worked on the bottom edge of the board and obtained a further set of widths for its, wider, 176 rings.

Attempts to match the 220 year sequence visually by contemporary reference patterns for the London area (and central Germany) were unpromising and it looked as though we had a difficult problem on hand. The chart was relegated to the pending tray for more urgent matters that required computer comparisons — the bottleneck in our tree-ring research at Oxford because of the time taken to prepare the data for this miracle device to spend a few seconds in making hundreds of comparisons to indicate the likely match with a dated reference.

Fortunately, during February of this year I have had the assistance of Stewart Brown, a young archaeologist, temporarily attached as part of his training with the Oxfordshire Archaeological Unit. He provided an opportunity to place the ring-widths of the Canterbury door before the computer. The London and German reference chronologies, already used visually, again showed no satisfactory matching position; though made from sequences of annual rings that imply trees of moderately slow growth, the rings were substantially wider than those on the Canterbury door (1.4 mm as opposed to 0.9 mm); it is an important principle that sequences of nearly equal width match best. Yet the only chronology in the British Isles for contemporary trees of very slow growth is the one formed by Dr. Baillie from timber used in Norman houses excavated at Dublin. In desperation, with Margaret Tapper our specialist in visual matching, the two charts were compared and to our surprise we found a very good visual match, although Dublin and Canterbury are over 500 km apart. The computer confirmed the position, the agreement value being one of the highest we have ever had for a single board. So there was no doubt about the certainty of the dating so obtained, namely that the 220 year Canterbury sequence covered the years 931 to 1150.

As sapwood is absent on the board, allowance has to be made for at least 20 years growth beyond 1150 AD before the tree was felled. Our estimate for the construction of the door becomes the period 1175-1185. It appears that during the fire of 1174, the old door was destroyed but William of Sens reused its hinges, adding some up to date straps to the new door. He rebuilt this part of the Cathedral in 1175.

Readers of this note may find the similarity of growth between Canterbury and Dublin as interesting as the ability to date the door approximately. A few years ago it was difficult to convince my fellow-dendrochronologists who lived in the wetter parts of



Door to the Chapel of St. Blaise

the British Isles that the tree-ring pattern for slow-grown Flemish trees could match that of oaks that had grown slowly near London and near Oxford; some of them wanted to formulate a flourishing trade of oak boards across the North Sea and within Britain, even of heavy planks to form large chests in Oxford. Since then, very similar patterns between narrow ring-width sequences for medieval cupboards of c. 1400 in York Minster and in the Muniment Room at Westminster Abbey have strained the hypothetical medieval trade in heavy timber further. In fact, the forest of Blean near Canterbury, woodlands near London, the forest of Galtres near York and even oak woodlands near Edinburgh have, as the 1963 Oxford Atlas of Britain shows so colourfully, one feature in common; they lie in rain shadows cast by hills to the south-west or west and have an annual rainfall of about 24 inches. Woodlands near Dublin are in a similar rainfall zone and it is the entity of stress from the same climate feature that causes the matching over long distances.

JOHN FLETCHER

ARCHAEOLOGY AND CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL

Until comparatively recently nearly all that was known of the archaeology of Canterbury Cathedral and its surrounding precincts had been discovered and published by the great Professor Robert Willis in his two brilliant works on the Cathedral itself¹ and on the surrounding conventual buildings². Both these essays, published well over a century ago during the heyday of Victorian ecclesiology, were 'archaeological' masterpieces in so much as they "took apart" the fabric of the buildings, and using the principles of stratigraphy in conjunction with the exceptionally full documentary sources, were able to show how the great church and its surrounding monastic buildings developed from Lanfranc's total rebuilding of the Saxon Cathedral in the 1070's to the dissolution just over four and a half centuries later. Since Willis' day other details have been added but little more, and Canterbury has now lagged behind many of our other great cathedrals in the study of its archaeological as opposed to its architectural history³. I should begin perhaps by defining what I mean by archaeology in this context.

To many people today archaeology means only the digging of holes in the ground to find 'ancient remains'. During the last decade or so (and incidentally to a large extent during the 19th century), archaeology has come to mean the study and elucidation of all material remains, both above and below ground, using the principles of stratigraphy as first laid down in detail by the British Geologists in the early 19th century. This means that the study of an early Norman wall buried 90 feet above the ground behind a 15th century wall in Canterbury Cathedral is also in every sense archaeology, particularly as this sort of study is rarely carried out by modern architectural historians. During the last few years the Canterbury Archaeological Trust have undertaken several excavations within the Cathedral precincts (largely in advance of new building work by the King's School⁴), and going hand-in-hand with these excavations has been a detailed study of the surviving above-ground remains of parts of the medieval buildings of the very large Benedictine Priory that once surrounded the Cathedral. We have also been examining and recording several parts of the Cathedral itself⁵ and a great deal of new information has been forthcoming which I will now attempt to summarise.

Let us start with the Cathedral. In recent years the great acceleration of restoration work to the fabric has made it imperative that recording work on surviving portions of the original fabric⁶ should be carried out before this early fabric is either destroyed or totally buried behind new work. This restoration work must of course be done, but it is essential that archaeologists

are present at the time to make records and attempt to interpret what is uncovered. An example of this happened in March 1979 when part of the 19th century floor at the western end of the great western crypt of the Cathedral was removed to allow the brick bases for the new Treasury show-cases to be put in. Members of the Trust were able to spend a Saturday morning cleaning up and recording the remains of the 11th century foundations uncovered immediately below the floor, and this work was able to prove for the first time that the western wall of the crypt was also the western wall of Lanfranc's crypt, the earliest Norman crypt in England. The ends of the three equal bays of this crypt are still visible in the wall and the two columns in the corners are Lanfranc's columns *in situ*. Two other recent discoveries by Henk Strik of hitherto unknown fragments of Lanfranc's Cathedral should also be mentioned here.⁷ First, in the area above the fan vaults of the 'Dean's Chapel' on its south side are the remains of the barrel vault and stilted apse of the Chapel of St. Blaise. The surviving portions show that the apses of the chapels on the east side of both the North Transept (the Martyrdom) and the South Transept were much further east than had previously been thought.⁸ These chapels in fact extended further east even than the 15th century chapels which replaced them, hence showing that the now oddly placed tomb of Archbishop Stephen Langton was originally within the apse of the Norman chapel.⁹ Work by Henk Strik on the internal fabric of 'Bell Harry' tower has also shown that the lowest part of the original spiral staircase in the Angel Steeple still survives (but filled up), below the north-east corner of the present tower. The blocked-up doorways leading into the staircase are still visible at both the triforium and clerestory levels.¹⁰

Below ground excavation work has been carried out recently just outside the south wall of St. Gabriel's chapel. This is taking place in advance of waterproofing work as this crypt chapel, with its unique group of early 12th century wall-paintings, has tended to flood in the winter. Our limited excavations here have found several monastic and lay burials within the Cathedral cemetery as well as the foundations of the north-south wall that divided the two cemeteries.¹¹ We have also found that underlying this was a late Saxon wall which in turn cut a fine Roman mosaic pavement. Small Roman figurines found in conjunction with this mosaic may indicate that it was a Roman temple. Cutting all these remains was Prior Goldstone II's brick drain of c. 1500.

Our main excavations over the last two and a half years in the Precincts, however, have been carried out for the King's School. Work started towards the end of 1977 on a site just behind the Norman Staircase. These excavations uncovered some of the piers and buttresses of the *Aula Nova* (or North or High Hall as it is sometimes called) into which the Norman Staircase originally led. This huge first floor hall was largely destroyed

in c. 1730 though some of the arches of the south-east side still survive south of the Norman Staircase. Our excavations also revealed the great barrel-vaulted 12th century drain as expected,¹² and leading into this drain from beside the Norman staircase was a smaller 12th century drain. Using the additional evidence of the Waterworks Plan, it seems likely that the four pillars at the bottom of the Norman staircase were the base of another of Prior Wibert's watertowers¹³. In the levels below the 12th century buildings were earlier remains of the city including a unique lead mint-weight of William the Conqueror. This probably indicates that one of Canterbury's 11th century mints was close by¹⁴.

Our next excavation was in the garden of Linacre House, a site that is already being built on. Here we discovered a sequence of 15th century buildings that had originally formed part of the northern range of 'Meister Omers'. Some of these buildings had survived until the 19th century as part of the Canon's house attached to the 6th Prebendal stall, but a fine medieval cellar which we uncovered *in toto* had clearly been filled in after the Civil War in the 1650's¹⁵. Parts of the walls of the medieval buildings still survive built into the garden walls and a complete series of measured drawings was made of all these remains as well as of 'Meister Omers' itself. The latter building is an exceptionally fine late medieval Guest Hall which still contains many of its original 15th century fittings such as its great timber roof, its huge kitchen fireplace and its finely decorated oriel windows. There are also fine carved corbels and fireplaces in the building relating to Cardinal Beaufort's occupation of the house.

Our third excavation, which is due to finish in April 1980, was on the site of the Almonry Chapel in the Mint Yard. A new day-boy house for the King's School is due to be erected here and so again an excavation in advance of the new work was imperative. As expected the foundations and bases of the walls of the Almonry chapel, built between 1324 - 8, were discovered as well as some of the floor levels of the Elizabethan and later King's School. Underlying this were a fine sequence of Anglo-Saxon and Norman levels which have now been excavated, and below this again are remains of the Roman town including part of a large Roman street which ran roughly east-west across the southern end of the Mint Yard. Below this again are swampy deposits (containing peat and fine silts) showing that this area was obviously very wet and marshy in the late Prehistoric and early Roman periods.

Our work in the Cathedral and surrounding precincts over the last few years has therefore produced a mass of new evidence for the buildings and early history of Christ Church Priory which will be published in full within the next year or so. This is, how-

ever, only a beginning and it is time that a detailed survey of all the remaining medieval buildings was made¹⁶ and perhaps for some selective excavation to be done.

TIM TATTON-BROWN

References :

1. Willis, R. (1845) *The Architectural History of Canterbury Cathedral*.
2. Willis, R. "The Architectural History of the Conventual Buildings of the monastery of Christ Church in Canterbury", *Arch. Cant.* (1868), 1 - 206.
3. Morris, R. (1979) *Cathedrals and Abbeys of England and Wales*, pp. 52 - 6, for a discussion of recent developments.
4. We have been greatly assisted in all our excavations by the Headmaster of the King's School who has encouraged all our work.
5. Within the Cathedral almost all the recording work has been undertaken by Hendrick Strik.
6. Much has already gone in the heavy restorations of the 19th and earlier 20th centuries.
7. They supplement the otherwise excellent summary of Lanfranc's cathedral in *Friends' Chronicle* (1977) 11 - 16 by Francis Woodman.
8. Compare Caroe's plan republished three years ago in the article cited above p. 15.
9. It now sticks through the east wall of St. Michael's chapel.
10. Other recent discoveries within the Cathedral roofs were published in *Arch. Cant.* 92 (1976) see C. A. Hewett and T. Tatton-Brown, 'New structural evidence regarding Bell Harry tower and the south-east spire at Canterbury', pp. 129 - 136.
11. The gateway in this wall was moved c. 1840 to its present site at the entrance to the Memorial Garden.
12. See the famous 12th century waterworks plan *Friends' Chronicle* (1977) p. 19.
13. See above.
14. There was of course a 15th-16th century mint in the south-eastern corner of the Mint Yard. Perhaps it is the same one.
15. Unfortunately this cellar had to be destroyed for the new buildings.
16. A survey of the remains of the Medieval Archbishop's Palace is already being carried out.

EVERYDAY LIFE AT CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL—REMINISCENCES

Many Friends of the Cathedral live a great distance from Canterbury; some have visited it only once or twice, become Friends and then departed, clutching postcards, guidebooks and a camera-full of cathedral shots. It is primarily for these faraway Friends that this article is written, and since I am neither historian nor architect I beg my readers not to expect a learned discourse. Rather, I hope to capture something difficult to define, which I shall call "the essence of Canterbury"; the life which makes the Cathedral a living organism rather than a well-preserved corpse.

For many Precincts residents the day starts with the 8 a.m. Eucharist, although for some of the staff the day begins much earlier than this. Perhaps one of the earliest risers in the Precincts is the Gatekeeper, Sid Hurst, who unlocks and opens the great carved wooden Jacobean gates at Christ Church Gateway at about 6 a.m. Were they left closed until later Precincts residents would be without their milk, newspapers and post!

However frequently one attends the early Eucharist, it can never become a dull routine. The early morning walk through the cloisters gives an incredible sense of timelessness. The ubiquitous pigeons coo from nooks and crannies in the stonework. Because the birds are hidden it seems as if the old stones themselves are cooing. Periodically, the cooing rises to a crescendo and I wonder if the stones are going to take flight! In the open, the rooks caw loudly as they commute between the trees and the Cathedral. The Cathedral is at its best early in the morning, since it is devoid of crowds. It can be very lovely on a winter's morning. In February or thereabouts, the sun is at such an angle that its beams throw the colours of the stained glass in St. Anselm's chapel onto the flagstones of the South Quire Aisle, near the foot of the worn Pilgrim Steps. This phenomenon creates an inspiring and beautiful effect.

The lovely Norman crypt is often used for the early Eucharist. Inside the crypt there is an indescribable peace and stillness. The dimness of the crypt is restful, not gloomy. Lit candles flicker gently on the altar. How lovely the Chapel of Our Lady Undercroft looks, how beautiful it must have looked centuries ago, when the flickering candlelight was reflected from small silver mirrors set into the vault above the altar.

St. Gabriel's Chapel, usually locked, is also used for the Eucharist. One should not attend solely to see the marvellous wall-paintings in the apse of this chapel, but it certainly is a wonderful bonus. The reds, yellows and blues of the paintings almost glow. Ernulf's crypt must have been a feast of colour.

Some of us are fortunate enough to be able to return during the day to conduct a guided tour. This has been a great privilege and joy for me. Other guides may or may not agree with me, but I believe guiding to be a form of ministry. Many of those one shows around have no other contact with any church and meet no other representative of the Cathedral community. Guiding is therefore a great responsibility. For an hour or so, to people one guides, the guide is the Church. It has always been my prayer and hope that my parties leave the Cathedral, not only having enjoyed their tour, but also with the knowledge that the Cathedral is the home of a caring community.

As with the early Eucharist, the daily singing of Evensong in the lovely transitional Quire attracts a nucleus of regulars. Many visitors, especially during the summer, stay on for the service. One hopes, as always, that the beauty of the Cathedral worship will make their visit all the more memorable. Less scrupulous visitors tell the virgers that they want to attend Evensong, come into the Quire, gaze around, perhaps take a flash photograph or two, chat to each other, and then walk out shortly after the service begins.

It is heartening, however, to see so many local people "drop in" for Evensong, on their way home from work or shopping. Students, shop assistants, teachers, housewives, the religious and clergy of different traditions.

Sitting in the back row of the Quire, my senses of sight and hearing are filled with the Cathedral's beauty, the lofty vaulting, soaring shafts, brilliant stained glass and lovely music. Whatever one's daily task, whatever problems concern one, here, for half an hour or so, can be found peace, that rare commodity in modern life.

On Thursdays, after Evensong, a Eucharist is held in the lovely Chapel of Our Lady Martyrdom, where the splendour of the majestic fan vaulting is balanced by the simplicity of the modern altar. It is a very informal service, with the celebrant facing the people. The Peace is passed very joyfully, and, as we all stand around the altar for the Consecration, one becomes intensely aware of the meaning behind the familiar words "... we are one body . . ."

As the sun sinks so the Cathedral gains a new beauty. Irradiated by the soft light of the sunset, the stones almost glow pink. In the clear, warm, summer air the swallows swoop, wheel and pipe around the ancient stones. A winter's evening has a different beauty. The gentle, yellow light cast by the old lamps of the Precincts give the scene an almost Dickensian quality.

Night falls, but the day is not necessarily over for the Cathedral and its staff. The crypt might be the place for a lecture or meditation. Perhaps the nave will be filled with musicians and

audience for a concert. In the Chapter House there could be a meeting or a dramatic performance.

During the summer, the Cathedral is floodlit. Words cannot adequately describe its sheer loveliness bathed in golden light. Every carving, every curve and angle is thrown into sharp relief; a most thrilling sight. When I first saw the floodlight Cathedral, viewed from Christ Church Gateway, I literally gasped. Before me was one of most wonderful sights ever created by human hand. One could well understand how the great central tower (Bell Harry) had been described as "... the noblest Gothic tower in existence".

Normally at 9 p.m. the gates are locked and the lights are dimmed. In the dark and empty Precincts it is a very different world from that outside. A few yards away from the closed gates, people are drinking, singing and roaring past on noisy motorbikes or in cars. Inside is an oasis of calm, with the great black outline of the Cathedral silhouetted in summer against a navy-blue sky.

Sunday is, of course, the Cathedral's busiest day. There is the 8 a.m. Eucharist in the Quire, the 9.30 a.m. King's School service in the Nave, 11 a.m. Sung Eucharist in the Quire, a 3.15 p.m. Evensong and 6.30 p.m. Evening Service.

The major service is the Sung Eucharist, and I have had the great honour and joy of being permitted to take an active part, as a server, in this service. There is something tremendously awe-inspiring about walking in procession along the North Quire Aisle into the crowded Quire.

Serving gives one the opportunity of discreetly observing the people coming to the altar for Holy Communion. Seeing so many, of all nations, colours, ages and types, makes one very aware of the universality, the true catholicity, of the Church. All baptised people, whatever their denomination, are cordially invited to receive Holy Communion at the Cathedral. Although offering the very best in Anglican worship, the Cathedral possesses a great ecumenical spirit.

There are, as all readers of the "Chronicle" will know, many "one-off" events to make living near the Cathedral exciting. I remember a good-natured crowd of us, in our best clothes, standing for hours in the cold of a December afternoon in order to get good seats for an Evensong attended by H.M. The Queen.

A very memorable service was the 1976 Orthodox Liturgy in the Quire, celebrated by Archbishop Anthony Bloom. The unfamiliar, but beautiful, chanting by the Archbishop with his deep Russian voice, was a very stirring sound. After the Liturgy we were all invited to partake of the blessed bread, an Orthodox custom which I wish was more universal. Although we had been unable to communicate, the sharing of this bread was a simple, but powerful, symbol of our basic unity.

In reflecting on my time in Canterbury mention must be made of the 1978 Lambeth Conference of Bishops. I was greatly privileged to be the Crossbearer to lead in the Bishops from the Great West Door and through the whole length of the Cathedral for the closing Eucharist. That is something I shall remember for a long time. During service it was said that some of those present might suffer martyrdom for their faith. Such a possibility seemed very remote in the peace and beauty of the Cathedral. But these words were brought home very forcefully when, some months later, one of those bishops who had been present, was brutally murdered by Amin's fleeing troops in Uganda, and his body thrown into the Nile.

One of the most beautiful annual services in the Cathedral must surely be the Easter Vigil. I was very fortunate to be chosen to be the thurifer for the 1979 Vigil, in spite of never having swung a censer before! When I paused at the Chillenden Screen and turned to face the Nave, my breath was taken away. The Precentor, carrying the lighted Pascal Candle, the Choir, Servers, Clergy and Congregation approached, a great line of slowly moving candleflames in the dark Nave, wonderfully symbolising the spread of the Resurrection Light throughout the world.

"The Light of Christ". sang the Precentor, raising the Pascal Candle.

"Thanks be to God"

During the service, a young man, Hendrick, was Confirmed by Bishop Isherwood; an experience I feel sure Hendrick will never wish to forget.

When the Vigil was over no one seemed in a great hurry to leave, although it was about 1.30 a.m.! There was a tremendous joyfulness and sense of fellowship evident. We did not just shake hands but embraced each other with words of greeting for Easter. Somehow, those moments of joyfulness were for me the climax of my four years in Canterbury.

MARK REES

BOOK REVIEWS

The eighth and latest in a series of paperback books issued by the Courtauld Institute of Art consists of a photographic study of Romanesque work in the Cathedral and Monastery of Canterbury, and the fact that on the title page the name of the editor is given as George Zarnecki will at once commend it to those who know something of the Romanesque art and architecture in Canterbury and regard him as the foremost authority in this field. Since it would seem that an authoritative book on this subject from Professor Zarnecki's pen is due to appear soon the short summary which forms the introduction must merely be regarded as something to whet one's appetite.

But the one hundred and sixty photographs make this book well worth purchasing. Each of the famous carved capitals in the Western Crypt and the chapels of St. Gabriel and Holy Innocents is illustrated as are many of the carved capitals on the exterior of the Church. The Treasury and St. Anselm's chapel are also photographed in some detail, and of course the Water Tower. One would have liked to see a little more attention given to the Court Gate (so closely identified nowadays with the King's School) which only rates two photographs; but this is more than compensated for by the twenty-seven splendid illustrations of the fragments of the Romanesque screen discovered in a wall of the late Gothic Cloister some years ago and now at last beautifully arranged in new glass cases for all to inspect in the Crypt exhibition. Once again, as one turns the pages of this book or walks round the Cathedral identifying carvings one had never really looked at carefully before, one rejoices to have some part and share in a building which has inspired such truly great art at every stage in its medieval history.

(Published at £12 by Harvey Miller).

D. INGRAM HILL

CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL

by LOIS LANG-SIMS

Miss Lang-Sims has produced a splendidly readable book which is also a pleasure to look at. So often books about buildings fall into one or another set category: there are the archaeological accounts which measure and date and classify; there are the popular guides, relying upon anecdote and illustration; and there are the lavish photographic studies, mainly suited to ceremonial presentations or smart display.

Miss Lang-Sims' book on the Cathedral combines the best of the three genres, but offers much more besides. If you require measurements and dates you will find them, and enough quotations from original sources (and notes to acknowledge them) to satisfy the scholarly. For the general reader, who is neither art historian nor ecclesiologist, the clarity of her style is uncomplicated by technicalities: while for those whose appreciation of the cathedral is mainly visual, there is a wealth of splendid illustrations.

Above all this, she possesses the gift of description and of bringing to life the men and women who for 1400 years have peopled the great building. In a few words she conjures them up for us: Augustine, "a wild brave man inflamed with a passion for Christ"; Anselm, the saintly scholar whose compassion in a brutal and bloody age when human life was cheap, reached out even to God's dumb creatures; the melancholy Archbishop Peckham; psychotic Blue Dick Culmer; Alfred Deller, so recently dead, for whom the epitaph for Humbert the sweet singer of the Middle Ages might serve: "Here lies Humbert on whom God have mercy . . . In his mouth were the praises of God in the evening and in the morning of the day. That of which he sang so well in life hath death revealed to him;" Cosmo Gordon Lang, "an outwardly imposing figure, solitary and unknowable in his personal life . . . isolated in the summer sunshine, leaning back upon an ebony stick, staring and staring at beauty as though he could never have enough. He always wore white kid gloves." And, of course, there is Thomas, without whom the cathedral as we know it would never have come into being. Miss Lang-Sims acknowledges briefly and non-committally the more bizarre theories about Thomas's death which would link it with the ritual sacrifices of the Golden Bough; she probes a little into the mysteries of what she surmises to be a divided personality, and into what seemed to her the incredibilities and inconsistencies of the contemporary accounts of the murder. But when all is said, is there any need to look beyond the story of a man for whom, once his mind and will were, as he saw it, aligned with the mind and will of God, there was "no change or variability neither any shadow of turning", and who, living a bare 100 years after Hilderbrand and the Imperial humiliation at Cayossa, knew that Christ must rule over Caesar and that there was no way in which, living, he could serve two masters?

She is keenly alive to Canterbury's visual beauty, "the burning livingness" of the West Front windows, and to "the statuesque dignity of the prophets and patriarchs . . . which combine the quality of a Henry Moore with a living intensity which cannot easily be found elsewhere in the field of art", to the "flower-like delicacy" of the fan vaulting of the crossing below Bell Harry; the Miracle windows, "more jewel-like than the jewels themselves" of St. Thomas's shrine; the chalice and paten from the tomb of Archbishop Walter, "of such beauty that one is reminded of the vessels of the Holy Myth: surely, one thinks, the Sangraal must have appeared to Sir Bors and Sir Perceval looking exactly like that . . ." But behind the wonder of what is seen, she is sensitive to the hidden meanings and the Gnostic symbolism with which she senses the cathedral to be shot through and through, and to the mysteries of the sacred geometry whose proportions contain messages to which we today have lost the key.

There is much humour, too, although on the subject of certain modern offerings such as the Bossanyi and Stammers windows ("a veritable tornado of coloured glass"; and, "One cannot but assume that the artist was a migraine subject: he has been eminently successful in producing a visual representation of an acute attack", respectively) one feels that her tolerance has been rather severely tried.

On only one of her criticisms would I take issue with her: She complains of the public who flock through the cathedral in their thousands, or even millions, without appearing to realize the significance of what they are seeing; and also of the commercial adjuncts of modern tourism, such as the audio bars, and the cathedral shops whose revenue goes to support the unceasing demands of maintenance of the fabric. "The money," she says, "which is essential for its structural preservation will be found — when people understand it as a place which they need and must therefore support." No doubt. But in the meantime, until the masses can be brought to recognize the Cathedral as their essential heritage and to dig deep into their pockets to maintain it, the beauty which she so cherishes can only be preserved by commercial means. And those who lack the background knowledge to appreciate the holiness and the beauty can in the main only be reached and taught by the use of those same modern devices which she so dislikes, and with the help of the guide books and literature which the shops dispense. In any case, I would like to put in a good word for audio-bars, having found them most useful and not at all offensive, on many a flying visit to Continental churches about whose history I was totally ignorant, and where a guide book of any kind is the exception rather than the rule.

This one area of disagreement apart, I can find nothing but praise for the book, which is not *only* a "good read" but also a "good look". (*Published by Cassells at £8.95.*)

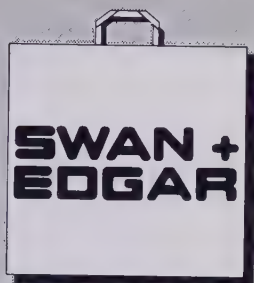
J.M.M.

‘LOOKING AT CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL’

This is the title of a remarkable book by Rena Gardiner commissioned by Cathedral Gifts Ltd. and available at any of the Cathedral stalls for 30p. Miss Gardiner has produced some splendid books on similar lines for the National Trust and for the Cathedrals of Rochester, Norwich and Salisbury among other places. She is a gifted artist who writes the text, illustrates it with her own line drawings and then prints and publishes it entirely herself. While the book is mainly intended for children any adult would enjoy reading and possessing it, and she covers all the main aspects of the Cathedral and its history and art. Apart from the charming illustrations there is a plan of the Cathedral at the beginning of the booklet and one of the Monastery at the end—in fact, the twenty-eight pages are packed with information most charmingly presented, and it is impossible to imagine a nicer souvenir of a visit to Canterbury Cathedral.

Cathedral Gifts Ltd. has also just reprinted Canon Derek Ingram Hill's booklet on the Cathedral glass which the author has revised and updated, with some coloured photographs replacing the former black and white illustrations. The original edition of 7,500 copies published by the Friends of the Cathedral sold out a year or two ago and there have been many requests for a new edition which is now available (price 70p) at the Cathedral stalls.

Lovers of cathedrals and greater churches of monastic origin should buy at all costs a new book by Richard Morris, published by J. M. Dent at £8.95, entitled ‘Cathedrals and Abbeys of England and Wales.’ This handsome volume, profusely illustrated, not only deals with the whole business of construction of these architectural masterpieces under such chapter headings as ‘Masters and Men’ and ‘Resources’ but provides fifteen colour plates (including one of the Corona at Canterbury) and one hundred and fifty-eight photographs; at the end in addition to a substantial bibliography there are plans of seventy-five cathedrals and greater churches (i.e. abbeys and priories) still in use for public worship in whole or part.



The Debenhams Group

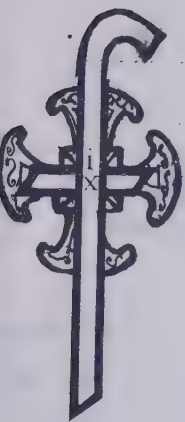
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THE
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SUPPLEMENT TO THE CHRONICLE 1980

FRIENDS' EVENTS 1980.

FRIENDS' DAY - Saturday, 19th July

- | | | |
|---------|--|---------|
| 12 noon | Sung Eucharist | Eastern |
| 1 pm | Luncheon (for up to 200 only) Marquee on Green
(Tickets at £2 per head in date
order of application) | |
| 2.30 pm | Annual Meeting and Dedication of
Cloister Plaque. | Eastern |
| 4.00 pm | Tea (tickets 75p.) | Marquee |
| 5.30 pm | Festal Evensong | Quire |
| 7.30 pm | Cathedral Choir Concert -
Beethoven Mass in C (ticket prices as
on Order Form) | Nave |

FRIENDS' EVENING - Saturday, 1st November

- | | | |
|---------|--|---------|
| 7.00 pm | Renaissance Dance Group
Tickets £2 (inclusive of Buffet Supper
and wine) | Shirley |
|---------|--|---------|
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Members may wish to make a note of the following Canterbury events during the next few months:

King's School Week 10 - 16 July (Programme from
The Secretary, King's School)

Concerts in the Cathedral

- | | | |
|---------|--------|---|
| June 10 | 8.00pm | Organ Recital: Christopher Herrick |
| July 5 | 7.30pm | Choral Society: Mahler's Symphony of 10 |
| " 8 | 8.00pm | Organ Recital: John Blaskett |
| " 26 | 7.30pm | Arts Council Orchestral Concert |
| Aug. 5 | 8.00pm | Organ Recital: David Flood |
| Sept. 9 | 8.00pm | " " Allan Wicks |
| Oct. 7 | 8.00pm | " " John Scott |

Cricket Week Saturday, 2nd August onwards.

TICKET ORDER FORM FOR EVENTS IN 1980

Office use
Remittance £

Apply Before

No. Required

Price per ticket

FRIENDS' DAY - July 19th

Ticket for Meeting and/or Services

£ p

FREE

Luncheon ticket

2.00

14 June

Tea

-.75

" "

Inclusive ticket for Day

2.75

" "

Cathedral Choir Concert

4.00

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3.00

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2.50

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(Unreserved aisles) . .

1.00

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FRIENDS' EVENING, Nov. 1st

2.00

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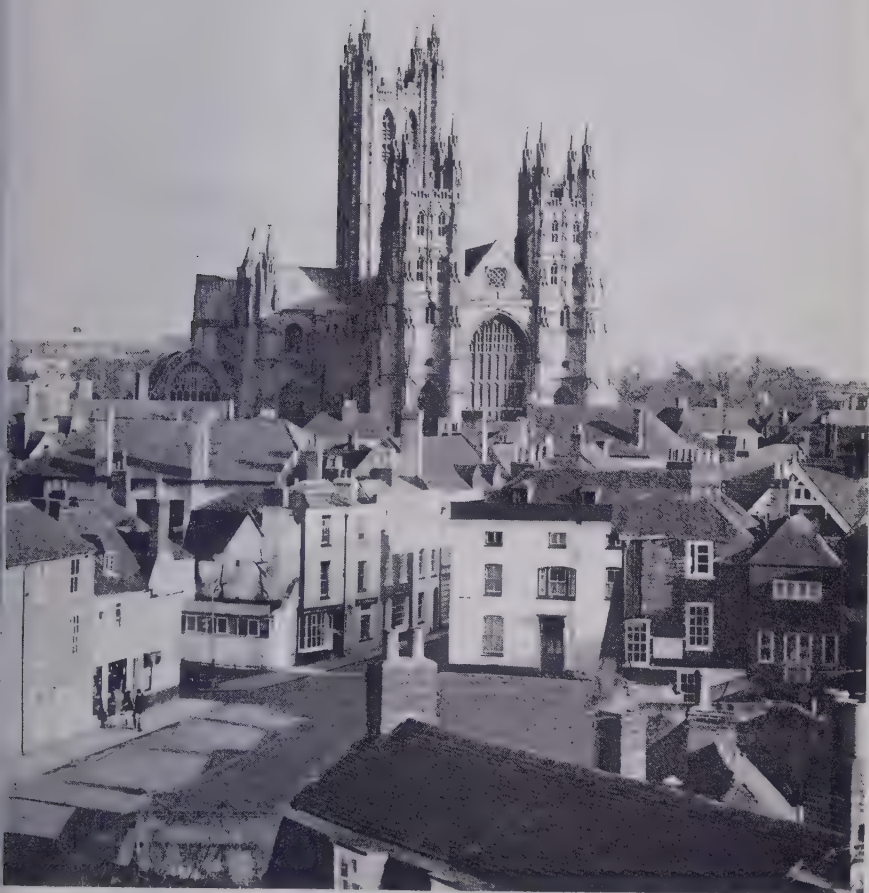
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NTERBURY CATHEDRAL
CHRONICLE
1981

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EDITORIAL

The year that has elapsed since the publication of the last Chronicle has seen many exciting events in Cathedral life, in which its place at the heart and centre of the life of the Diocese—made plain by the great Eucharist in which the new Archbishop was welcomed last March 26th—was further emphasised by a special Eucharist in September when Richard Third, Bishop of Maidstone, was welcomed as Bishop of Dover with special jurisdiction in the whole diocese. Then on November 29th, Robert Hardy was consecrated by the Archbishop as Richard Third's successor in the suffragan see of Maidstone. In May in the presence of the Prime Warden and members of the Goldsmiths' Company, the Treasury in the Crypt was formally opened and in July a ceremonial visit was paid to the Cathedral by the Primate of Hungary, Cardinal Lekai, Archbishop of Erztogom, who celebrated a pontifical High Mass at the High Altar on the Feast of the Translation of St. Thomas of Canterbury. Canon Joseph Robinson left Canterbury at the end of 1980 to become Master of the Temple Church in London. His successor Canon John de Sausmarez, Vicar of St. Peter-in-Thanel, and very well-known through the whole diocese, will be installed in the presence of the Archbishop on Sunday, May 17th.

Anniversaries seem to take a great place in the life of our country today. Last year in April we celebrated the eight hundredth anniversary of the first service to be held in the Cathedral Quire in April, 1180, and this was followed in early May by a service to commemorate the opening of the Canterbury and Whitstable Railway 150 years ago in 1830. This year of Grace 1981 we shall be commemorating in Canterbury the tragic death of a great archbishop, Simon Theobald of Sudbury, beheaded by Wat Tyler's rebels in the Tower of London on June 14th, 1381. The commemoration will begin with a lecture by Dr. John Harvey in the Nave (which was begun in the primacy of Sudbury and with his generous support). All Friends are invited to attend this lecture on Tuesday, April 28th at 6.30 p.m. The anniversary will culminate in a commemoration service attended by the Mayor and City Council in state on Saturday, June 13th at 11 a.m. Other events will be an evening of music, in the Nave, on June 18th and a dramatic presentation of a play about the Peasants' Revolt called *Will Wat?* If not, *What Will*, to be given in the Chapter House on Friday, June 19th by the Whitstable Youth Theatre Group.

The Washington Ladies' Guild, who made a lovely set of kneelers for the High Altar rails some years ago, will be glad to know that these have been remade for the new altar rails of the Sacramentum and are now back in service again.

The fine picture of King Charles the Martyr (c. 1660) which has hung for many years in the North Quire Ambulatory has come back again after being cleaned and it is now possible to see inset a charming little picture of Canterbury Cathedral (founded on a rock) as Charles I would have seen it when he first came in 1625 with his young bride—the cathedral with the old Norman north-west tower

of Lanfranc's building surmounted by the spire which was taken off after the great storm of 1703.

The long awaited pilgrims' hostel is now fully equipped and in use over the old 11A and the offices in No. 11B The Precincts. Since No. 11A was once occupied by Dr. Burgon Bickersteth it is to be known as the Bickersteth Hostel and it has simple accommodation for parties up to 12 persons. Application for the use of it by parties from parishes and other bodies at home and overseas should be made to the Hostel Secretary at No. 8 The Precincts who will supply all details about costs, equipment, etc. In addition to the hostel there are also two nice rest rooms in 11A for the Cathedral Guides and Chaplains and the Senior staff respectively.

In a special article elsewhere in this number readers can learn all about the great project for the complete renewal of the Cathedral bells towards which the Friends are contributing the sum of £18,000. Because of this generous help it has been decided to hold the service for the rededication of the peal of 14 bells on Friends Day and this will be on Sunday, July 19th this year with the Archbishop presiding and blessing the bells, and the Dean of Gloucester as the preacher. The service will be at 3.15 p.m. and in the morning there will be a Solemn Eucharist at 11 a.m. Lunch will be available in a marquee on the Green Court, and the Annual General Meeting will take place between lunch and the dedication service at 3.15 p.m. Full details of this programme will be found in the supplement to this Chronicle distributed to U.K. members only.

It only remains to welcome new Council members: Mr. John Nicholas and Mr. Colin Mattingly nominated to fill vacancies at the Dean and Chapters' disposal, and Miss Joyce Melhuish and Mr. Paul Pollak nominated by the Friends' Council itself.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We are very grateful to our usual contributors from the 'Home team' Miss Oakley (Cathedral Archivist) Mr. Tatton-Brown of the Canterbury Archaeological Trust, Miss Lang-Sims and members of the Cathedral Chapter. New contributors include Fr. Murray of the Jesuit College of Heythrop, Professor W. L. Warren of the Modern History Faculty of Belfast University, and Mr. Richard Morris author of 'Cathedrals and Abbeys of England and Wales' (whose Address in the Quire on the occasion of the 800th anniversary of the dedication of that part of the Cathedral we are delighted to publish here.) In addition we have two contributions from local Canterbury Friends. . the Revd. Charles Harrington of Bridge, one of our most devoted Cathedral Guides, and Mr. Richard Offen, consultant for bells to the Diocese of Canterbury.

As usual we are very grateful to the *Kentish Gazette* for permission to publish photographs of the Commemoration at Simon of Sudbury's tomb taken on Christmas Day 1979 and of the lowering of Great Dunstan in the South East Tower. The photograph of the head of Simon of Sudbury is kindly provided by the Vicar of St. Gregory's Church, Sudbury (the Revd. P. Hollis) where the head has been kept for many centuries past.

NOTES AND NEWS

R.I.P.

The last eighteen months have seen the death of many good Friends and not least Friends who had served on our Council and given great help in that capacity. Following the deaths of Gerald Knight, Martin Browne and John Hayes recorded in the last Chronicle we have now sadly to record the passing in the last few months of Dr. William Urry, David Raven, Gladys Wright and Walter Hagenbuch.

William Urry was a Canterbury boy who achieved a unique reputation as a historian who knew more about the history of Canterbury . . . City and Cathedral . . . than anyone since his namesake William Somner. His magisterial book 'Canterbury under the Angevin Kings', won him instant acclaim, a Research Fellowship at All Souls College Oxford and then a Fellowship at St. Edmund Hall where he became Dean of Degrees and Reader in Palaeography in the University of Oxford . . . all this despite bouts of illness and operations which would have caused a lesser man to retire long before-hand. Despite the many attractions of Oxford academic life he never lost his great love for Canterbury and was planning to retire to a house in Vernon Place next autumn. The last of many articles to appear from his pen in the Chronicles and Reports of the Friends appeared in the 1980 number. It was perhaps fitting that his last illness should have occurred when he was on vacation in Canterbury and he died in the Kent and Canterbury Hospital fortified by the rites and prayers of the Church. After his body had lain in the Quire overnight a large and representative congregation gathered there for his funeral service on February 26th. His cremated remains were laid to rest in the Cloister Garth near the Library two days later.

Gladys Wright had been a stalwart Friend for many years and in recognition of her work on the Council was made a Vice President early in 1979. The last few months of her life were spent in a flat in South Close hard by the South West Transept and not far from the Cloister for whose restoration she had worked so hard.

David Raven had been asked to join the Council early in 1980 to represent the Kings' School and his sudden and tragic death has deprived the Friends of one who would undoubtedly have been of great help to our work in due course. The same is true of Professor Walter Hagenbuch who in his retirement from the post of Dean of the Social Sciences and Public Orator to the University of Kent at Canterbury had thrown himself with zest and great effectiveness into the whole life of the Cathedral and not least the work of the Council of the Friends. His sudden death in his garden on a January morning this year caused great grief and shock and his funeral service in the Cathedral, attended by a great congregation, was a striking testimony to the esteem and affection in which he was held by many people from different walks of life not only in Canterbury but far beyond.

REVIEW—APRIL 1980-81

Canon Hill's Editorial and his Notes and News in this issue enable this Review to confine itself to matters of finance and re-organisation only.

The Society's accounts to 31st March last year revealed the disquieting fact that annual overhead costs were currently running at a figure somewhat in excess of subscription income as such, and the Friends' Council has consequently found it necessary to fix a higher minimum subscription for newly-joining Friends. This is now £3 per person per year for local members and rather more for overseas Friends where postage costs are involved. It is gratifying that last year's request to old Friends voluntarily to increase their contributions has met with a reasonably satisfactory response and, fortunately, we have again benefited very substantially from thoughtful legacies created in the past, with the result that generous gifts to the Dean and Chapter for Cathedral maintenance and re-decoration continue to be made.

Further, and in pursuit of the long-standing policy of wishing to assist the Dean and Chapter in every practical way, the Friends' Council has of recent months supported proposals for effecting an administrative amalgamation of the responsibilities of the Friends and the Seneschal's Committee (incorporating the Appeal) insofar as fund-raising and individual donors are concerned. Implementation of these proposals, which it is anticipated will commend themselves to acceptance by the Appeal Trustees in the near future, will mean that the overhead costs of running the Friends' organisation will be borne by the Appeal Trust Fund, thus freeing every penny or cent contributed by member Friends for direct allocation to Cathedral needs.

STEWARD & TREASURER.

NOTICES

Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth the Queen Mother, Royal Patron of The Friends, is to visit The Precincts on Wednesday, June 24th, to open the new Luxmoore House of The King's School, and it is hoped that she may also be able to attend a Cathedral Service. Members may make enquiries of The Friends' Office at a later date.

The Venerable the Archdeacon of Canterbury, Bernard C. Pawley, will be retiring on the 31st August next and leaving the Precincts with Mrs. Pawley and their two children for Warehorne, near Tenterden.

Mr. Colin Mattingly, in addition to continuing his normal duties as a fund-raising consultant and Secretary of the Seneschal's Committee has also been appointed Deputy Steward of the Friends.

Mr. Samuel E. Belk III of Washington D.C. has taken up his duties as Chairman of The Canterbury Cathedral Trust in America at:

The Close,
St. James Parish,
224 Eighth Street N.E.
Washington D.C. 20002

The Friends' Office still has Friends' ties available in navy blue and maroon at £2.50 each, and lapel pins with the Friends' symbol at 75p each.

THE CANTERBURY PILGRIMAGES

Once again the opportunity occurs for those who love Canterbury and its Cathedral to spend four days as guests of the King's School hearing lectures by local scholars, visiting sites of historic interest and living together in St. Augustine's College opposite the Cathedral. Accommodation is in single and double rooms, breakfast and evening dinner are served in the 13th century refectory, and the inclusive charge for Friends has been reduced to £126. These tours take place from July 27th to August 21st. For details of the full programme please write to John Corner, The King's School, Canterbury.

A NEW WOVEN HANGING FOR CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL—‘CHROMA CONTEMPLATIONS’

Descriptive Detail:

Commissioned, via the Architects to Canterbury Cathedral (Mr. Peter Marsh of Dudley Marsh Son & Partner—Dover), for the Chapel of Our Lady Martyrdom; a contemplative Chapel reserved for private prayer but regularly used for services, which has recently been restored and refurbished. The architecture of the Chapel is Perpendicular style, with a high, fan vaulted ceiling, detailed stone carvings and mouldings around the pillars and walls, and a large but fairly plain stained glass window (pale green, yellow and white glass with some small armorial motifs) above the altar. Although the architecture is quite detailed, the overall effect was rather plain. In the process of restoration the large memorial to Dean Turner (1672) was moved from the altar wall and the exposed stonework required some restoration. The new stonework, being much brighter than the weathered stone, was distracting, and it was decided that a brightly coloured wall-hanging would not only overcome this, but also act as a focus on the altar (the actual altar is a modern light oak refectory type table covered with a plain white runner). The hanging had to be designed to incorporate an existing crucifix (dark wood with brass decoration) which was to be the focal point.

Preliminary designs were submitted by Mike Halsey after discussions with the Dean of Canterbury and Peter Marsh—architect, in the summer of 1979. A number of variations and colourways were then submitted for approval by the Dean and Chapter, with the final design being approved in September 1980. The cost of the hanging was met from a fund subscribed by his family and friends in memory of Canon Thomas Prichard who died in August, 1975.

The hanging was woven in two panels (being too wide to be woven in one piece) and the overall dimensions are 93 inches long by 76 inches wide. There are four main colour areas, set in seven columns; these gradually blend from the base to the top of each column from green to blue, blue to purple, red to orange and orange to yellow, with the colours repeating out from the central organ-yellow column.

The weave technique was specially developed for this hanging, and is (as far as is known) original. The technique is described by Mike Halsey as a Multiface Core-weave, and uses a split-shed on a four-shaft threading. Four differently coloured pattern wefts travel across the full width of the fabric, with each colour being brought up to the surface for its respective area (which can be at any point); the colour weft is either carried on the back of the cloth, or is sandwiched between the top and back layers where the colour is to be hidden.

Because of the unusual general viewing distance (approximately 40 to 50 feet), the texture of the hanging had to be greatly

exaggerated if it was to 'read' as a textile, and this was one of the greatest problems that had to be solved, necessitating many samples and experimental variations. This resulted in a fifth, neutral colour being used as a 'ground' to separate the pattern picks, because earlier samples with 'solid' colour areas looked too 'heavy'. The neutral ground forms a grid, making the fabric appear lighter (both in colour and texture) and adding a shimmer effect to the colours. The hanging is far from light, weighing approximately 15 kg. (33 lb.), and the bulk of this is weft (about 14 kg.) The hanging took about 80 hours to weave, though the designing—particularly the development of the weave—took many months to plan and resolve.

DEATHS OF FRIENDS

Recorded with reverence and honour following notification received between March 1st, 1980 and February 28th, 1981.

Anderson, Miss W. M.	Lefevre, Miss S.
Birley, Mr. N. P.	Lockhart, Mrs. A.
Bisset, Mr. W. D.	Loring, The Rt. Rev. O. L.
Bodkin, Miss D. E.	Mace, Miss E. A.
Bowes, Miss P. K.	Maltby, Miss I. I.
Britton, Mrs. D.	Marsden, Mrs. M.
Brown, Miss P.	Nobbs, Mrs. N.
Browne, Dr. E. Martin	Page, Mr. G. V.
Carson, Mrs. D. I.	Parsons, Mrs. I. M.
Castle, Mr. L. M. T.	Pearce, Mrs. L. L.
Clark, Miss V. E.	Pearson, Miss G. E. M.
Corlette, Miss B. E.	Perfect, Canon R.
Crichton, Miss M. E.	Prestige, Major J. T. R.
Crofton-Taylor, Miss L.	Ransley, Mr. F. H.
Crumplin, Mrs. I. F.	Raven, Mr. D. S.
Dent, Miss T.	Raven, Mrs. R. M. J.
Eldridge, Mrs. F. B.	Raymond, Miss M.
Emden, Dr. A. B.	Richardson, Mrs. M. L.
Eveleigh, Miss J.	Sampson, Mrs. G. E.
Fincher, Miss M. V.	Seville, Miss M.
Gaskin, Mr. F. E.	Spanton, Miss H. E. J.
Goodman, Dr. N. M.	Sparkman, Mrs. L.
Groves, Miss M. M.	Swaffer, Miss I.
Grundy, Mrs. A. M.	Toke, Miss I. de C.
Hagenbuch, Professor W.	Urry, Dr. W. G.
Harrison, Miss D. E.	Walker, Mr. C.
Honeyball, Colonel F. R.	Wayeth, Miss B. M.
Hooker, Miss P.	Whitehead, Mrs. J. G. O.
Howden, Mrs. D.	Williams, Mrs. K.
Ingram, Miss P. L.	Woolliams, Group Capt. F. H.
Jamieson, Mrs. J. M. W.	Wright, Miss G.
Keeley, Miss V. M.	Wright, Miss J.

Correction:

Last year an error was made in listing Miss J. M. Day; this should have read Miss F. M. Day.

A further error we also greatly regret was the listing of Mrs. I. C. Anderson's name instead of that of her husband Dr. T. Farnworth Anderson, C.M.G., O.B.E., M.D.

THE BELLS: More to them than is seen or heard. . .

To the uninitiated like myself, the Whitechapel Bell Foundry is fairyland: perhaps rather more in the Grimm than the Hans Andersen idiom, but undeniably magic and certainly inhabited by wizards.

Here in this unchanging place—unchanging save for an unobtrusive electric switch or two to set in motion gantry and crane in the mould-filling part of the premises, bells great and small are born and re-born today under the creative hands of skilled and devoted craftsmen, just as they have been throughout the foundry's 400 years of history. Once only has it moved—from across the road—in all that time.

I was pleased I had been asked to witness the re-casting on February 12th of the bells to be dedicated on July 19th next in the name of the Friends, but I had no idea such pleasures awaited me in the Whitechapel High Street. From the moment I stepped through the front door, with its sweetshop-like visitor announcement bell, directly into the foundry's cluttered and charming reception room—once a bar parlour, and retaining still the welcome atmosphere with which it doubtless started life—I was captivated.

There in that quite small room, the whole story of bell-making and ringing was to be traced in fascinating working models of the various creative processes involved. There were photographs from the sepia days of photography onwards of completed bells and their places of delivery. There were historic moulds, new and superbly carpentered boxes stacked for current deliveries, bell-ringers themselves, among our inspection party, excited—transformed even—by their interest in and pleasure at meeting craftsmen of the foundry met on previous occasions.

One of these craftsmen, incidentally, had stepped straight out of a fairy tale brandishing what seemed to me to be a great wand—a 3 ft., object which later turned out to be a thermometer for measuring the temperature of the red-hot molten metal pouring from the foundry furnace into a large boiler-sized bucket from which the bell moulds nearby were about to be fed.

The temperature taken, and the supervising moulder satisfied, the molten metal was skimmed of dross, and the electrically operated overhead gantry picked up the bucket and moved it, aided by somebody manipulating a series of chains, to the appropriate bell mould.

I have said nothing about the vital tuning which follows after cooling; this by another wizard wielding a hammer to strike the area near the top of the bell; and I am sure I missed seeing many other important tasks being performed in this fascinating place. But on to more factual details. . .

JOHN NICHOLAS

THE RESTORATION OF CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL'S BELLS

The only bell that will be heard from Canterbury Cathedral during the next few months will be 'Bell Harry', in the Central Tower.

The first stage of the Cathedral's ambitious bell restoration scheme has been the rehangng of its oldest bell—Bell Harry. Cast in 1635 at Ulcombe, near Maidstone, this bell has been carefully restored and supplied with a new electric tolling hammer.

The work on 'Harry' was completed just before Christmas and, after its busy next ten months (ringing for all the Cathedral's services), it is intended that this bell will return to its former duty of sounding the nightly curfew at 9 p.m.

On 5th January, the work of removing 'Great Dunstan' and the Ring of twelve commenced.

Five of the old Ring are to be retained and, after cleaning and tuning, will be hung in the Arundel Tower (N-W), where they will be used as quarter bells for the clock.

The remaining seven bells are being recast and, with additional metal, will be cast into a Ring of twelve, with a tenor (largest) weighing about 35 cwt. Two extra ringing bells are also to be supplied, which, when used with some of the bells in the Ring of twelve, will give a lighter Ring of ten in a higher key. This smaller ten will be used when insufficient ringers are available to man the heavier bells of the twelve.

By the end of January the Ring of twelve and most of the old bell frame had been removed, leaving the way clear for the tricky operation of lowering 'Great Dunstan' from his resting place on the roof of the Oxford Tower (S-W). It is believed that this is the first time that Dunstan has been moved since he was cast in 1762.

Dunstan came safely to rest at the base of the tower on Tuesday, 3rd February and all credit is due to the staff of The Whitechapel Bell Foundry, who so skilfully manoeuvred this vast hulk of metal from its lofty residence.

The next job was equally difficult—getting Dunstan safely out of the Cathedral and on to the lorry. This operation was watched with great interest by His Grace The Archbishop of Canterbury, who spent nearly an hour watching the removal and talking to the workmen and spectators.

Seven of the new Ring were cast at The Whitechapel Bell Foundry on 12th February. Amongst the seven cast were the two bells donated by the Friends to be named Lanfranc and Blaise.

Already seven donors have been found to sponsor the work of casting the new bells and it is hoped that several more will come forward before the job is completed.



Workmen from the Whitechapel Bell Foundry lowering the old 32 cwt. tenor bell, prior to recasting

The new Ring is to be hung in a galvanized steel bell frame at the level of the present clock room in the Oxford Tower. The cost of this bell frame is being met by the Woolwich Building Society.

The work in the Arundel Tower, which includes the installation of the five clock bells and hanging Great Dunstan for automatic slow swinging, is being paid for by the Anglia Building Society (which incorporates the former Hastings and Thanet Building Society). Never before has Dunstan been hung to swing and so for the first time we shall hear the magnificent tones of this bell—the largest in Kent—to their fullest. Dunstan will continue to sound the hours, but will also be used as the Cathedral's calling bell for daily worship.

Each bell in the mediaeval Cathedral was named and, where possible, these names are to be re-used with additional names of historical significance to the Cathedral.

It is anticipated that the entire installation will be completed by the end of October and that, after testing and any minor adjustments that may be necessary, a grand opening of the Ring might take place late in November or early in December, 1981.

The work outlined above constitutes one of the largest bell restoration jobs undertaken since the last war and when completed, will mean that Canterbury Cathedral has one of the finest rings of bells in the country.

R. C. OFFEN.

Details of the Names of the New Ring of Fourteen Bells

<i>Bell</i>	<i>Name</i>	
Extra Treble	SIMON	Named after Archbishop Simon Sudbury, the 600th anniversary of whose murder we commemorate this year.
Treble	CRUNDALE	One of the bells in the Cathedral's mediaeval campanile was named Crundale—no doubt after some pious benefactor.
Second	ALPHEGE	One of the campanile Ring was named after the Archbishop who was martyred at Greenwich in 1012.
Third	THOMAS	The third bell of the Ring in the campanile was named after the 'hooly blisful martir', Thomas a Becket.
Fourth	MARY	Another bell in the campanile was named after the Blessed Virgin.
Fifth	ETHELBERT	The first Christian King of Kent, baptized by St. Augustine in 597.
Sixth	ANSELM	One of our most devout and holy Archbishops.
Flat Sixth	ERNULF	Ernulf was one of the first Priors to donate a bell to the Cathedral.
Seventh	BLAISE	One of the bells in the Norman central tower was dedicated to St. Blaise, whose relics are preserved in the Cathedral.

Eighth	JOHN	Another of the bells in the central tower was dedicated to St. John the Evangelist.
Ninth	LANFRANC	The Archbishop who, after the disastrous fire of 1067, had the Cathedral rebuilt in just seven years.
Tenth	GABRIEL	One of the bells in the central tower was named after the Archangel Gabriel.
Eleventh	AUGUSTINE	The first Archbishop of Canterbury.
Tenor	TRINITY	The largest bell in the central tower was dedicated to the Blessed Trinity.

Each bell will have its name inscribed just below the crown, any other inscription being placed on the waist.

Details of the New Ring of Fourteen Bells and the Clock Chime

<i>Bell</i>	<i>Note</i>	<i>Diameter</i>	<i>Approx. Weight (cwt.)</i>	<i>Donor</i>
Extra Treble	A-sharp	2 ft. 2 in.	5¼	Kent County Association of Change Ringers.
Treble	G-sharp	2 ft. 3¼ in.	5¾	—
Second	F-sharp	2 ft. 4¾ in.	6¼	—
Third	F	2 ft. 5½ in.	6½	The Queen's Own Regiment.
Fourth	D-sharp	2 ft. 7 in.	7	East Kent Federation of Women's Institutes.
Fifth	C-sharp	2 ft. 8½ in.	7½	The Ringers of Great Britain.
Sixth	C	2 ft. 9¼ in.	8	Mr. Peter Marsh, The Cathedral Surveyor.
Flat Sixth	B	2 ft. 10 in.	8½	—
Seventh	A-sharp	2 ft. 11 in.	9	The Friends of Canterbury Cathedral.
Eighth	G-sharp	3 ft. 2 in.	11	—
Ninth	F-sharp	3 ft. 6½ in.	14¾	The Friends of Canterbury Cathedral.
Tenth	F	3 ft. 9 in.	17½	—
Eleventh	D-sharp	4 ft. 2½ in.	24½	—
Tenor	C-sharp	4 ft. 8½ in.	35	The Kent Messenger Group of Newspapers

The Ring of twelve in C-sharp major will consist of Crundale, Alphege, Thomas, Mary, Ethelbert, Anselm, Blaise, John, Lanfranc, Gabriel, Augustine and Trinity. The lighter Ring of ten in F-sharp major will consist of Simon, Crundale, Alphege, Thomas, Mary, Ethelbert, Ernulf, Blaise, John and Lanfranc. Various other musical combinations of six, eight and ten are available and also a Ring of twelve in the key of E-flat minor.

The Clock Chime

<i>Bell</i>	<i>Note</i>	<i>Diameter</i>	<i>cwt.</i>	<i>Weight qr.</i>	<i>lb.</i>	<i>Founder</i>	<i>Date</i>
Treble	C-sharp	2 ft. 8 in.	6	3	0	Thomas Mears	1802
Second	B	2 ft. 9¾ in.	6	3	4	C. & G. Mears	1855
Third	A-sharp	2 ft. 11¾ in.	7	3	21	Samuel Knight	1726
Fourth	G-sharp	3 ft. 0¾ in.	8	1	24	Samuel Knight	1726
Tenor	F-sharp	3 ft. 3½ in.	9	2	2	C. & G. Mears	1855

The chime has been cleaned and tuned; the bells will be hung dead (unable to swing) in the Arundel Tower and will be sounded by means of clock hammers.

REFLECTIONS BY RICHARD MORRIS

Delivered in the Quire after Evensong on Saturday, 26th April, 1980, on the occasion of the 800th Anniversary of the Dedication of the Quire.

The archaeologist is sometimes imagined as a soulless creature, who by studying the past in detail in some way renders it less interesting. There is even a theory that a building keeps only a limited number of secrets, and that the archaeologist will, given half a chance, reveal them all and thereby deprive the structure of its mystery.¹

If we appeal to any of the few English churches that have been studied in detail in recent years we will find that although new and often surprising facts have accrued, these in their turn pose fresh questions and fix new horizons.² The extent of our ignorance about the origins and early backgrounds of the greater churches, in particular, is both salutary and tantalizing. Moreover, 'a great church is rather like a small universe: it is capable of absorbing any amount of study'.³ Few churches can be more universal than Canterbury Cathedral, and the 800th anniversary of the building of its extraordinary eastern arm is our theme here. But how best to approach it?

There are other scholars who are far better schooled in the building history of Canterbury than I. It would be unfair both to them and to you for me to give some superficial account of it. Instead, a celebration that rises from our concept of time and the value of our past prompts thoughts not so much about the structure of Canterbury's great 12th-century quire as about the nature of our interest in it.

I do not suggest that the 'nature of our interest' is likely to be susceptible to any quick or glib analysis. Nor is it likely to be distinguished by any overall singularity, for we all have our own interests and responses. But from time to time it is useful to stand back from the things we study and admire, or simply react to, and investigate our own attitudes to them.

A long perspective is particularly needed today, for several reasons. First, the language upon which we depend to express and define the nature of our interest in the past is in some trouble. Increasingly, our conversations are laden with slack words like 'heritage', 'historic environment', 'architectural and historic interest', all much fatigued by constant and often indiscriminate use, and lately reinforced by the joyless jargon of American bureaucracy: 'environmental impact analysis', 'cultural resource management'.⁴ This vocabulary, it seems to me, is becoming less and less useful for the expression of what we think and feel about the past. When challenged, we retreat into formulae.

Secondly, much of the written and spoken output of archaeologists and architectural historians arises directly from what could be described as their work at the coal face: another jet bead from Whitby, an interim report on this or that excavation, the develop-

ment of a particular style of tracery. True, good works of synthesis are being written; yet comparatively little is ever said about why the garnering of archaeological data is desirable. This is not a topic that the Church can afford to ignore, for it is obliged to strike a balance between its inherited duties as a custodian of historic buildings and its current pastoral tasks. Although it has been said that to be able to perceive down the ages the persistence of a place of worship on one site and its dynamic reaction to changes in national and local life is a powerful stimulus to faith,⁵ it is also true that for some the past is an irksome encumbrance.

The past provides emotional, spiritual and political anchorage for the living. Study of the past also reveals a good deal about the present of the society that engages in it. It is no coincidence that amateur archaeology is one of the main pastimes in modern Israel, or that throughout the 20th century the potency of history has been particularly well understood by the leaders of totalitarian regimes. It is probably no coincidence either that treasure hunting has been one of the fastest growing hobbies in our own country.

Various materials are available as a basis for the study of the past. Most useful of all, where they exist, are written records. But our inheritance of written records is haphazard, and for most of Man's existence, including many aspects of that existence into recent times, documents do not exist. In such circumstances we must rely on physical evidence relating to Man's past. It has been suggested that 'The fabric of a church is the essential basis for research into its past'.⁶ We might begin, therefore, by looking at statements which measure the value of physical evidence.

'Dear Editor' writes Professor R. J. C. Atkinson in a letter to answer the question 'Why archaeology?' posed in a previous issue of *Rescue News*: 'There are two short but sufficient answers to this question. The first is the same as Lord Hunt's reason for climbing Mount Everest: it is there. The second answer is another question: Why History? Most people don't bother even to ask this, because they take it for granted that at any academic level the study of history is a justifiable activity. Archaeology complements and extends history, by alternative means. The justification is the same for both disciplines'.⁷

A second source of guidance is to be found in the literature of UNESCO, in a publication entitled *Introduction to Conversation*, written by Dr. Bernard Feilden, Director of the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property, normally abbreviated by those of us pressed for time to ICCROM. Dr. Feilden writes thus in his Introduction: 'As cultural property, not excluding wildlife and nature, is our heritage and belongs to us all, regardless of nationality, it is every person's duty, and in his own interest, to assist in its conservation. In practical terms, each generation should safeguard cultural property, with its values intact, and pass it on to the next generation. The needless waste of cultural resources must be prevented'.⁸

Here, in two nutshell, we have direct answers. But there are, surely, further questions to ask. Professor Atkinson has simply moved the onus for justification from archaeology to history. Dr. Feilden offers us an imperative—‘waste of cultural resources must be prevented’—based on an assertion—‘cultural property belongs to us all’. Let us examine these points in more detail.

Why History? National and personal life convinces us that history is inescapable, if not important. We expect our children to learn about it at school, and we would be worried if they did not. Large departments are devoted to its study, at public expense, in universities. It is part of the tissue of our monarchic, legal, ecclesiastical and political institutions (in the last two cases some would argue too much so). History provides enormous quantities of raw material for our entertainment: biographies, novels, television, films, radio. It occupies our leisure in other ways: visits to castles, stately homes, monastic ruins, museums. It moulds the environment in which we live, work and go about our daily tasks: houses we inhabit or walk past on the way to the shops, a kink in the road we drive along, the pattern of hedgerows and fields. It is there on signposts, sometimes too on street names in modern housing estates. (‘Templar Gardens’ and ‘Eel Mires Garth’ are two rather precious examples from a 1970s development near my home, all houses built in that familiar pastiche that I once heard described by an ex-environmental planner as ‘Series Three Architecture’.) History governs recipes for some of the food we eat. It often forms the setting for our worship. In summary, history imparts variety and meaning to our social and physical surroundings.

Yet it may be asked whether it is really necessary for us, or anyone, to actually *know* about the facts that lie behind these manifestations of the past in our present. Would the residents of Templar Gardens feel any happier if they all knew what a Templars’ Preceptory was? Does it matter to the newsagent in the corner shop that somewhere a philologist is wrestling with early texts and sound-changes in order to elucidate the origin of the name of the place in which he lives? Will the reader of an historical novel worry if all the details are wrong? Who cares when Tim Tatton-Brown and Hendrik Strik make scale drawings of parts of Canterbury Cathedral, recording every single stone, fissure and mortar joint, so that the development of the structure can be analysed? Will things be any different tomorrow if it can be shown that a particular type of beetle lived in a certain cess pit in the late summer of AD 881 in Viking York? These questions may seem frivolous. But they do demand answers. If times get harder we will hear more like them, for a nation in difficulty sheds its responsibilities soonest for those things that appear to be of least immediate value.

Let us return to Dr. Feilden’s pamphlet to consider an expansion of what he means by ‘cultural property’.

‘... cultural property may be viewed as the material manifestation and expression of what is uniquely and essentially

human, for only man, among all the animals, has the power of abstraction which allows him to think conceptually. Conceptual thought is basic to all human manufacture, whether the final product is merely a stick sharpened at one end for digging up roots, a space capsule, a cathedral, or tonight's dinner on the table.⁹

It is this, incidentally, that is fatal to the idea, widely accepted until well into this century, that buildings like Canterbury Cathedral arose out of instinct for collective invention. Man is not alone among creatures in being able to make things—the bees in the hives at the bottom of my garden do that—but his works are stamped by an individuality. To test this we need to look no further than some of the other great churches which were in building at about the same time as the Canterbury quire.¹⁰

Dr. Feilden continues: '... culture must be viewed as indivisible from and fulfilling a need in human beings: even in his simple cave shelters Palaeolithic Man was already producing a range and complexity of artistic work that many cultures since have been unable to match in beauty, power of observation, sensitivity and the variety and employment of materials.' This is another important point: we could not, I think, build the Canterbury choir today. 'How Man creates, and especially why he needs to create, are questions that science still cannot answer. All that can be said is that this capacity and need are inherent in, and indivisible from, precisely what makes Man human. . . .'¹¹

To some extent, therefore, we have an answer. Man's constructive works provide a commentary upon, or perhaps even a kind of definition of, his very humanity. To ignore them would be to ignore ourselves.

It is a fact, however, that much of what we would now revere as 'cultural property' was originally regarded as expendable. While we could easily accept this when it applies to scraps of material on archaeological sites, or even to domestic and agricultural buildings, it might be argued that this does not apply to what today we think of as the more noble items of human output: the Leonardo, the Bach cantata, the cathedral. Yet our tendency to hoard cultural property is comparatively new. Much of what we now cherish as being central to a conception of cultural property was produced with only a short-to-medium-term life expectancy, even if we would now accord it permanent importance. The interesting thing about the famous painting is that it often has earlier paintings concealed and superseded beneath its surface. The output of baroque and classical composers was largely utilitarian, determined by routine commissions for particular events. Who is familiar with Vivaldi's four hundred concertos, or forty operas? And one of the characteristics of Gothic was its destructiveness,

By the late 12th century the sites of nearly all our cathedrals, abbeys and most medieval parish churches were already decided. Many, like Canterbury Cathedral, had been fixed long since. There

could, indeed, have been a lecture in about 1180 to mark the 800th anniversary of the founding of a church on or close to the site of the present cathedral. For the most part, therefore, the Gothic revolution affected buildings which were already in existence, and hence it did so in ways which involved the extension, modernisation or outright obliteration of what was already there. Sometimes it was a structural problem, a natural disaster, or, as at Canterbury in 1174, a fire which caused damage and provided a starting point for new growth. Elsewhere, changing liturgical needs or the desire to accommodate important relics in appropriate surroundings acted as stimuli for change. Concern for the past was not absent in the Middle Ages, but concern for the future was fierce. It has often been pointed out that, in England at least, Gothic was essentially a progressive, non-repétitive movement. Between c. 1170 and the age of the Tudors the Gothic current, apart from a few eddies, flowed in one direction only; forwards.

To this extent medieval interest in what nowadays we look upon as cultural property was directed more towards *creation* than preservation. Of course there was a past, and medieval makers often indicate a consciousness or respect for it.¹² But it was a past that could be sacrificed if the means were available to do better. The mortar was scarcely dry in parts of some new English medieval cathedrals before those parts were pulled down and superseded by yet more new work.¹³

The confidence of the medieval builder is in sharp contrast to the outlook of today, when, on the one hand, we are extremely reluctant to interfere with anything which might affect the appearance of the visible past, and yet on the other we are largely indifferent towards attempts made to reach a better understanding of it. We are obsessed with images of the past but care little for the facts. Although large sums of public money are now allocated annually for the repair of historic buildings, virtually no formal provision is made for the recording and dissemination of evidence that such repairs may expose or destroy.¹⁴ We need a policy of total care for our churches. By 'care' I mean not only attention to the physical well-being of the structures, or the positive thinking that must go on to ensure that such buildings can continue to lead useful and relevant lives, but a wholeness of approach which acknowledges origin, development and change.

Consider this statement, taken from a booklet which accompanied an exhibition entitled *Archaeology and Planning* in 1979:

'The growing interest in the past of this country can be shown in numerous ways. Some 52 million entrance tickets were sold to stately homes in 1978. In York alone 1.35 million sightseers visited the Minster last year, 869,000 passed through the Castle Museum. . . Figures from national monuments in the guardianship of the Department of the Environment show equally impressive returns: 3 million for the Tower of London, 795,000 for Stonehenge, and 920,000 for Edinburgh Castle to

take only three examples. Foreign visitors consistently mention Britain's past as the main reason for their visit.¹⁵

It is estimated that in 1979 these foreign visitors, attracted by our past, contributed some £3½ thousand million to the national economy.

So the past is big business. For this reason, if for no other, one would imagine that as a nation we would devote appropriate resources not only for its conservation and effective management, but also to promote study which would enhance popular understanding and appreciation of it. But as a nation we do not invest in this way. We are happy enough to exploit the past, but we do so as casual opportunists: which is tantamount to living off the capital of the past rather than the interest. In the long run this can only have one end: cultural bankruptcy.

The signs that we are travelling in this direction are clear. Look at the cultivation of what many people would call myths. This affects all aspects of history, not just churches. The use, or misuse, of the word myth is unfortunate, for a myth, as we know, can be a vehicle for a powerful truth. Perhaps fiction would be a better word in this context. We cling to all sorts of fictions: the general emptiness of the prehistoric landscape; the Romans vanishing over the horizon in AD 410; beleaguered Anglo-Saxon tribesmen gradually hacking their way out of woodland clearings over a period of several centuries, pausing only to calibrate their progress with distinctive place-names, and to build churches on the eve of the Norman Conquest. Sometimes one encounters little fiction in the telling. A few years ago I was down in the crypt of another cathedral, when a party of tourists arrived led by a guide. I listened to the story she told. 'And here' she said, pointing to a piece of medieval masonry, 'And here is the very stone upon which Constantine stood when he was proclaimed Emperor.' After the tourists had dispersed we fell into conversation, and I mentioned that it might be stretching the facts just a little bit, not to mention the stratification, to say that Constantine had been proclaimed Caesar on that spot. Immediately she stiffened, and replied: 'Young man: I always tell the truth.' The guide was an Anglican nun. Another incident in another cathedral. This time I was the guide, leading a group of adult education students. We had not been going long when I noticed that an extra person had attached himself to the group. He was an official cathedral guide; an eager lad, in his late teens. Before long he had more or less taken over, and he gave a very impressive performance. Dates and facts tumbled out, and there was no question that could not be answered. However, when we reached the subject of the Anglo-Saxon church on the site, about which virtually nothing is known, he launched into a minute description of this lost building. When I asked him for his evidence he looked surprised, and said simply: 'I know it was like that.' 'But why?' I persisted. 'Because canon x said so.'

Incidents of this kind can be multiplied many times over. In themselves they are trivial, harmless, even fun, and you could, with some justice, accuse me of sanctimonious pedantry in repeating them here. What is disturbing is not that inaccurate information is being retailed—we all do that, one way or another—but that somewhere along the line there has been a retreat from the truth. Such a retreat can be made for a number of reasons, of which three are mentioned here.

The first arises from anxiety. We all cherish familiar stories. Aethelred was unready. Cnut had trouble with the tides. Richard III was wicked. Medieval churches were built by monks. For some stories we have a genuine and worthwhile affection. For others, is it not their familiarity, the fact that they have become mental fixtures, that affects us? The fiction we know seems safer than the truth which could be known. Courage is needed, not just to shed comfortable whimsies, *but to grasp the more remarkable truths that almost always lie behind them.*

Secondly, there is indifference. For some people the past holds a real, intrinsic interest. For others, it matters little. Those in the latter category regard the illumination of the history of the building they use as a task of only peripheral importance. It is assumed that those who investigate the past do so not to extend the general horizon of history, but to satisfy their private curiosity. The cry 'Let the needs of the living take precedence over the dead' is as outworn and simplistic as the platitudes of the planner that we considered at the outset.

The third retreat is a kind of reflex of the second, for it arises not from indifference towards what we do or could know, but from worry about what we do not know. Long periods of the histories of individual buildings, of which Canterbury Cathedral is one, are, at present, a blank to us. Rather than define our ignorance, it is all too easy to doodle in the void. Speculation does no harm, but it must be clearly labelled for what it is. It has been known for scholarly conjecture to harden into probability, and ultimately to solidify as 'fact'. A different manifestation of this tendency, very noticeable today, lies in a retreat into phoney mysticism: the mirage world of scrambled history, science fiction and spurious numerology. Here the historian and archaeologist stand accused of narrow-mindedness, in company with the indifferents. Personally, I do not mind being fettered by facts; I am more moved to find that an oddly-located English church owes its position to the underlying presence of a sub-Roman *mausoleum* than to the intersection of a pair of ley lines.¹⁶

When all this fancy talk is boiled down, we are left with one single fact: if we set any story by truth, we ignore the past at our peril. A society which neglects opportunities to perceive truth is moving into the shadows. Recall these words, spoken publicly in 1663:

‘. . . I maintained and believed that the Sun is the centre of the world, and immovable, and that the Earth is not the centre, and moves. Therefore . . . I swear that I will never more hereafter say or assert by speech or writing anything through which the like suspicion may be had of me; but if I shall know anyone heretical, or suspected of heresy, I will denounce him to this Holy Office’

Five years later, this was written:

‘Galileo, your dear friend and servant, has for a month now been completely blind. This is irrevocable. Just think then, Your Grace, how sad I must be when I realise that the heavens, the sky, and the universe, which by most strange observations and clear arguments I magnified a hundred, yea, a thousand times in comparison with what all scholars of former ages had seen, now, to me, are so small and narrow that they do not reach beyond the space occupied by my own person.’¹⁷

As a commentary upon that, we could set the following: ‘. . . we are always conscious of precedents, not least so when we flout them, and we let experience shape our views and actions: this is so much the case that when tradition is absent or crystallises into unreasoned convention . . . progress stops.’¹⁸ Those words, as bitterly relevant to the predicament of Galileo as they are to us today, were written by an archaeologist, Sir Leonard Woolley. Woolley’s distinction between tradition, which is a prerequisite of progress, and blind convention, which is fatal to it, reaches right to the core of our theme.

How can this ‘consciousness of precedents’ be exercised? Parallels between individuals and societies can be facile. Indeed, a strong belief exists that some such parallels should not be drawn; that, for example, no moral equation can be made between the conduct of private persons and the conduct of governments. Wars can only be fought on this basis. Nevertheless, a parallel might be tried, as an experiment. Amnesia, for instance, is a condition which as individuals we would prefer to avoid. It is to be cured. Yet as a society do we not abet it? Can loss of memory be harmful to the individual yet acceptable to the community?

There are of course many things that we as individuals either do not know or do not need to remember. I drive a car without any real appreciation of the internal combustion engine, and I watch television without having the faintest idea as to how it works.¹⁹ But my ignorance on these matters is only permissible because there are others within our society who are not ignorant. In a complicated society we delegate. In relation to the public, historians and archaeologists are not unlike motor mechanics and electrical engineers; they are servants of the Community. As Dr. Bernard Feilden has said: ‘If we attach value to knowledge, and thereby would be civilised, then the motivation for the gathering of knowledge must come from us as a community—even though we may delegate the work.’ Here, then, lie answers to those questions

posed earlier about philologists and Viking beetles: cultural property is a manifestation of what makes us human; concern for knowledge, and the tasks that flow from that concern, is another. The two together provide the impulse, and should provide the means, for research into the past.

If it is true that we are always conscious of precedents, then Gothic is one of the greatest precedents of all. Whether we approach it on structural, symbolical, aesthetic or emotional terms, Gothic is one of the few original architectures to have been invented by Man. In the quire at Canterbury we are at only one or two removes from its European birth.²⁰ The elements of Gothic were conceived, incubated and hatched at various places, Suger's church at St. Denis and Sens among them. Canterbury's manifest debt to early French Gothic has caused some historians of art to express pleasure at the accident which curtailed the career of William of Sens, and led to the transfer of control of the project to William the Englishman, described by Gervase as being 'small in body, but in workmanship of many kinds acute and honest.' The importance of Gervase's narrative is hard to overestimate. Medieval authors who chronicled cathedral building programmes are few, and authors who wrote with precision fewer still. Moreover, Gervase's account helps us to understand the project in its context: the effects of the fire, the distress of the convent; the conference held to decide how best to rebuild (a most modern touch); the selection of Williams of Sens to take control; his working methods; logistics; labour relations; diplomacy; technical innovations; the progress of the work, bay by bay, register by register; the problems posed by relics (links with the past), and the honour accorded to them. It is a record of fundamental importance, with a most moving climax, though not a finish, when the convent returned into 'the new quire in the year of Grace 1180, in the month of April, on the nineteenth day of the month, at about the ninth hour of Easter Eve.'²¹

Beyond the events of the late 1170s lies Canterbury's significance as a symbol of its age. In 1927 Charles Homer Haskins wrote that to many people 'The Middle Ages are synonymous with all that is uniform, static, and unprogressive . . . the ignorance and superstition of this age are contrasted with the enlightenment of the Renaissance, in strange disregard of the alchemy and demonology which flourished throughout the succeeding period.'²² Maybe it is a commentary upon what has been said above that this is a view which, in general, still prevails. It is another fiction. In fact, the 12th century was for north-west Europe an age of intellectual enlightenment and architectural revolution. Contacts with Islam and the assimilation of Greek and Arab learning transformed natural philosophy and laid the foundations of modern scientific thought. The 12th century was a time of green shoots and the putting down of roots; the Renaissance, by comparison, was saprophytic. In terms of engineering development it has been suggested that more was accomplished between 1150 and 1275 than was achieved thereafter down to the middle of the 19th century.²³

Canterbury's quire stands at the threshold of that achievement. In its original time, and in ours, it speaks volumes.

We seem to be on the verge of another lecture, probably the one that it was expected I would give. All that has been said so far, and much more, was distilled into a few words by T. S. Eliot in the fourth of his *Four Quartets*, Little Gidding:²⁴

A people without history
Is not redeemed from time . . .

We are not yet blind to our past. We should count ourselves fortunate that there is still scope remaining for 'strange observations and clear arguments', and summon the will to make them.

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6. Martin Biddle, 'The Archaeology of the Church: a widening horizon', in CBA Research Report 13 (1976), p. 69.
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8. B. M. Feilden, *An Introduction to Conservation of Cultural Property*, ICCROM, Rome (1979), p. 3.
9. Feilden, 1979, p. 6.
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11. Feilden, 1979, p. 6.
12. As at Beverley, where the 14th-century nave recollects the idiom of the 13th-century eastern arm and transept.
13. It is easy to exaggerate this point. Conservation also played a part.
14. In the present year some £2.75 millions are being contributed by the State towards the repair of listed churches in use. None of this money is available for the recording of evidence that has to be sacrificed in the course of repair, and there is no separate allocation for this purpose.
15. *Archaeology and Planning: An Exhibition by York Archaeological Trust for the 1979 Town and Country Planning Summer School at York under the auspices of the Royal Town Planning Institute* (1979), p. 8.

16. Recent research into the origins and backgrounds of churches is discussed in *The Church in British Archaeology*, CBA Research Report, forthcoming 1981.
17. Cited by Jan Kott in his essay 'Prospero's Staff', *Shakespeare Our Contemporary* (Methuen, 1967), p. 265.
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19. It was foolish to say this in a public lecture. Our car broke down on the way home.
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22. C. H. Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (1971; original edition 1928), pp. 3-4.
23. Consult J. Heyman, 'Beauvais Cathedral', *Trans. Newcomen Soc.* 40 (1967-68), pp. 15-32; 'On the Rubber Vaults of the Middle Ages, and other matters', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (1968), pp. 177-88.
24. T. S. Eliot, *Collected Poems 1909-1962* (Faber, 1963), p. 222. The passage continues:

... for history is a pattern
 Of timeless moments. So, while the light fails
 On a winter's afternoon, in a secluded chapel
 History is now and England.



ARCHBISHOP SIMON SUDBURY AND CANTERBURY

History has not dealt kindly with Simon Sudbury. He was the first archbishop of Canterbury since Hubert Walter (1193-1205) to become chancellor of the realm; but his fate was to be struck down during the Peasants' Revolt, after a mere eighteen months in office, as a scapegoat for the failures of the Establishment. He was the first archbishop of Canterbury since Thomas Becket to suffer a violent death, and miracles were reported from his tomb; but the honour of a martyr eluded him.

In his lifetime he earned the respect and affection of everyone who knew him personally; but his posthumous reputation was fashioned from partisan and prejudiced sources. Historians have been inclined to write him off as 'a somewhat colourless personality', as 'weak but well-intentioned', or even more dismissively as 'lethargic' or 'time-serving'. Such is the fate of peacemakers. In the turbulent politics of the time Sudbury was undoubtedly a man of peace and a conciliator, and it needed more strength of character and force of personality than is usually credited to him.¹ In his dealings with Canterbury it is a much more forceful and dynamic Sudbury who emerges from the evidence, scrappy though it is.

Sudbury did not seek to avoid trouble with his cathedral city, as many medieval bishops did, by visiting it only briefly on ceremonial occasions. On the contrary, he was frequently in Canterbury and sometimes for extended visits. At three Eastertides in his short archiepiscopate he stayed for nearly a month. Clearly that spirit had abated which a few years previously had prompted the prior of Christ Church to write to Archbishop Islip that although he was always glad to see the archbishop in Canterbury his proposed stay of twelve days was more than enough.² Yet the good relations which Sudbury seems to have enjoyed with his cathedral chapter were despite three factors which might have soured them. First the monks tried hard to avoid having him as archbishop. Secondly, he was very firm in his official dealings with them. Thirdly, in his work of rebuilding he was usurping functions which were normally reserved to the prior and chapter.

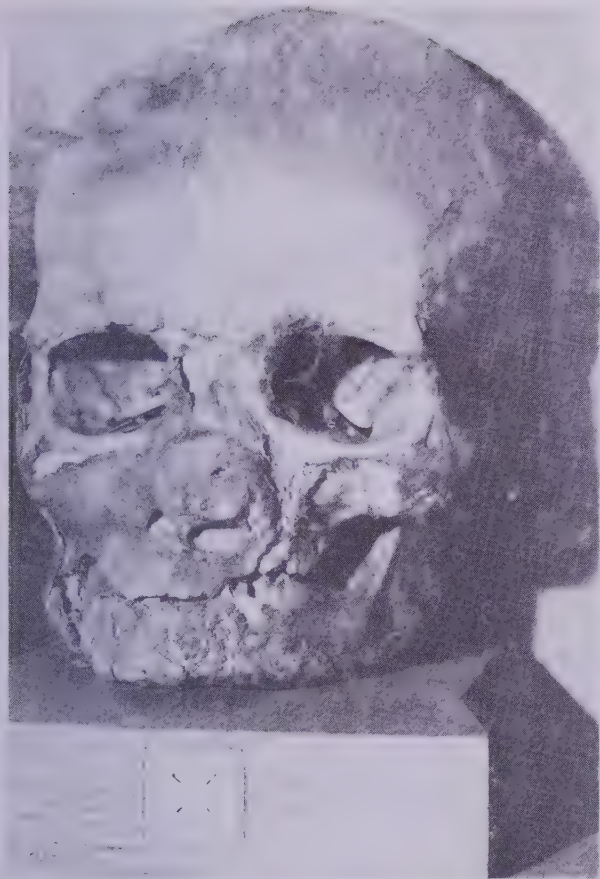
Archbishop Whittlesey was a sick man for several years before he died in June 1374. Sudbury, then bishop of London, had deputised for him efficiently, and moreover enjoyed the confidence of King Edward III, so that everyone assumed that he was Whittlesey's designated successor. But when the chapter of Christ Church met to hold what should have been a formal election, it chose instead Simon Langham, who had already been archbishop for some two years before resigning in November 1368 on being made a cardinal. There were probably several reasons for the chapter's choice. Langham was like them a Benedictine monk. He seems to have been keen to return to Canterbury and on a recent visit had given presents in gold to each of the monks.³ Moreover it is likely that

they were fearful of Sudbury. According to a well-known anecdote he had in 1370 fallen in with a party of pilgrims bound for the fourth jubilee celebrations of St. Thomas the Martyr at Canterbury, and told them bluntly that the plenary indulgence which they sought at the martyr's tomb was worthless. It seems that he had chanced upon a Chaucerian jaunt and was trying to make the point that discharge from penance was valueless without true penitence. Some of the pilgrims were abashed, but others were indignant, particularly a certain Sir Thomas Aldon who abused Sudbury for undermining people's faith in the glorious martyr, and prophesied that he too would meet a terrible death.⁴ Aldon, however, had a vested interest in the pilgrimage and may have been acting as a kind of 'tour operator', for he ran a lucrative money-changing business in the precincts of the cathedral.

It was nearly a year before an enraged king could persuade the pope to quash the election and translate Sudbury. Nevertheless it was not long before the genial and forgiving Sudbury had won the monks over. In 1376 after the interment of the Black Prince at Canterbury they sent him the Prince's charger as a gift because, as their account book records 'of the great affection which they have for him'.⁵

In 1377 Sudbury conducted an official visitation to enquire into the conduct of the monks and their management of the priory and the cathedral. He began with a sermon on the text 'Simon lovest thou me? Feed my sheep' (John xxi, 15). The flock was in poor shape. The number of monks, at fifty-one, was lower than at any time in the fourteenth century (and well below the average of 70-80). Financially the cathedral was virtually bankrupt, surviving only by the sale of relics and plate. Even the vestments of Archbishop Lanfranc had been passed through fire to recover the bullion from the gold thread. Several of the monastic buildings were in serious disrepair; yet the monks had squandered money on the erection of private apartments, to the neglect of the Benedictine Rule. The archbishop was disturbed that they should have their clothes tailored in the town, while the service books were tattered and the chronicles neglected. He insisted that Epiphany should be celebrated as a major festival; he disapproved of the shrine of Becket being frequently moved about; and wanted better protection for the image of the Virgin in the chapel under the croft.⁶

Monks did not usually take kindly to strictures from a secular priest; but Sudbury was tactful—drawing attention to what was wrong and making suggestions, but leaving the prior and chapter to discuss and decide upon remedies. They seem to have received his admonitions with good grace and to have taken them to heart. Within a year there were noticeable improvements and by the close of the century Christ Church was enjoying an Indian summer of good order and prosperity.⁷ Much of the credit of course must go to the ability and leadership of Prior Chillenden (1391-1411); but a turning point in the fortunes of cathedral and priory seems to have been Archbishop Sudbury's visitation of 1377.



The severed head of Archbishop Sudbury still preserved in St. Gregory's Church, Sudbury, Suffolk.

In 1380 the monks appointed a warden to Canterbury College at Oxford without consulting the archbishop, who by the statutes of the college had the right of appointing from three nominees recommended by the prior and chapter. Sudbury had all the monks mustered in the crypt and gave them a piece of his mind. They were contrite: 'they said that they repented of whatever they had done to his prejudice and unanimously begged his forgiveness'. The archbishop then drew up new rules for consultation in such matters, and a fresh appointment was made under them. After a later dispute over the college with Sudbury's successor, Archbishop Courtenay, the prior and chapter proposed a compromise and begged the archbishop to accept it along with 'the statutes recently formulated by Simon Sudbury of good memory'. So it seems likely

that Courtenay's statutes for Canterbury College, which remained in force until the Dissolution, owed a good deal to Sudbury.⁸

He was equally firm in his dealings with other religious houses in Canterbury. Within a few days of his enthronement he visited the nuns of the priory of the Holy Sepulchre and dismissed the prioress 'because of her excessive haughtiness among other reasons'.⁹ In 1377 he visited St. Gregory's priory, a house of Austin canons and found it burdened with debt. He dealt kindly with the canons, trying to alleviate their problems, but emphasising that however poor they were they should endeavour to keep up the decency of the religious services. At his departure the prior tendered the customary procuration (an offering in money), but the archbishop good-naturedly gave it back.¹⁰ In 1378 he presented himself with his cross borne before him at the gates of St. Augustine's abbey. It was a deliberate challenge to the abbey's persistent claim to be exempt from archiepiscopal jurisdiction. As he probably expected, the gates were shut in his face; but he was of no mind to let the matter rest: he opened a case against the abbey at the papal court and it was still in progress at the time of his death.¹¹

Sudbury's contribution to the rebuilding of the nave of the cathedral is well known. He was not a wealthy man; indeed, he had been financially embarrassed by the cost of his enthronement in 1375; but before his death in 1381 he had personally contributed three thousand marks, and his executors added another hundred and thirty. One chronicler says that he accepted the chancellorship so that he could devote the emoluments of office to the rebuilding of the cathedral.¹² It should be appreciated, however, that Sudbury was more than a benefactor. It was usual in the later middle ages for a prior and chapter to keep the actual building operations firmly under their own control; but Sudbury was from the first actively involved. Although the credit for the magnificent nave properly goes to Prior Chillenden, contemporary sources say explicitly that he was completing the work which Archbishop Sudbury himself had begun.¹³ Before he died the old building had been demolished, foundations laid, and parts of the new walls erected. The architect, Henry Yevele, had previously been employed by Sudbury when he was bishop of London on a new bridge at Chelmsford. Chillenden acknowledged the debt by having Sudbury's arms emblazoned on one of the major roof bosses of the nave and three times in the cloisters.

Whether Sudbury also took the initiative in rebuilding the city walls is less certain: there was a pressing incentive for the citizens themselves in French raids on the Kent coast. It is clear, however, that at the very least he took a keen personal interest. His rebuilding of the West Gate (again by Henry Yevele) and the resiting of the church of St. Cross which had stood on top of the old gate, went beyond the line of duty. Even the monks of Christ Church contributed to the city walls 'at the earnest request of Archbishop Simon Sudbury'—as they were careful to note in their accounts lest it be construed as a precedent.¹⁴

From this evidence emerges a Sudbury who was determined as well as benevolent. We may go further and suggest that he had conceived the notion of making Canterbury in every respect worthy of its heritage and of its status. The author of the *Eulogium Historiarum* says that in the year 1378 'Simon Sudbury began building his cathedral and the walls of Canterbury intending to create there the most beautiful and well-protected of cities'.¹⁵ After he became royal chancellor he had time to visit Canterbury only once, at Easter 1380, but he had not lost sight of his objective: a few days after his return from his cathedral to the chancery a royal writ was issued to the bailiffs of Canterbury requiring them 'with all speed to have the streets and lanes of the city scoured and repaired, and to be decently made and arrayed'. The dung and mire of the streets, said the writ, was an affront to lords and others passing through.¹⁶ And most of all, we may suspect, to Archbishop Simon Sudbury.

W. LEWIS WARREN.

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1. A criticism of such views will be found in W. L. Warren, 'A reappraisal of Simon Sudbury, bishop of London (1361-75) and archbishop of Canterbury (1375-81)', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, x (1959), 139-52.
2. *Litterae Cantuarienses*, ed. J. B. Sheppard (Rolls Series), ii, 314.
3. *Eulogium Historiarum*, ed. F. S. Haydon (Rolls Series), iii, 336.
4. Printed in H. Wharton, *Anglia Sacra* (1691), i, 49-50 from Lambeth MS 78.
5. Lambeth MS 243, folio 172v.
6. Register of Archbishop Sudbury (Lambeth), folio 32, printed in Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii, 110.
7. Evidence of the monks' response is in the cathedral records, Charta Antiqua C.206, Miscellaneous Accounts, ii, folio 215v, 315; see also R. A. L. Smith, *Canterbury Cathedral Priory* (Cambridge, 1943).
8. Register of Sudbury (Lambeth), folio 61; W. A. Pantin, *Canterbury College, Oxford* (Oxford Hist. Soc.), iii, 36, 39-48.
9. Register of Sudbury (Lambeth), folio 13.
10. *Ibid.*, folio 31v; Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii, 110.
11. William Thorne, in *Historiae Anglicanae Scriptores*, ed. R. Twysden (1652), col. 2155-7.
12. *Eulogium Historiarum*, iii, 350.
13. Chronicles cited in W. Somner, *The Antiquities of Canterbury*, ed. N. Battely (1703), Appendix, p.24; C. Woodruff, *Archaeologia Cantiana*, xxix (1911), p.60.
14. Miscellaneous Accounts, ii, folios 323, 327.
15. *Eulogium Historiarum*, iii, 347.
16. *Calendar of Close Rolls, 1377-81*, p.302.

SARSNET AND OLD BONES

Most people who are at all familiar with the Cathedral know that the plain stone slab at the west end of the Eastern Crypt marks the place where, towards the end of the last century, some bones were found which were thought for a time to be those of St. Thomas himself. The theory was that the monks, having summed up the intentions of King Henry VIII with respect to the holy bones of the saint, had removed them surreptitiously from the Shrine and hidden them in their original resting place. This theory is now held to have been disproved. However, the full story of the finding of the bones is so fascinating, and happens to have been so vividly and delightfully recorded by an eye-witness as enthusiastically involved in her own way as ever Gervase was in his, that it is well worth remembering for its own sake.

On Monday, January 23rd, 1888 ('this New strange year of the three 8's', as Queen Victoria had just written to her granddaughter Princess Victoria of Hesse) George Austin (Jnr.), the Cathedral Surveyor, was present in the Eastern Crypt when his workmen, who were digging near the original site of Becket's tomb, came upon a short flight of steps. The floor of the Crypt was at that time of hard unpaved earth. Not far below the surface there was so much water that a few days earlier the men had been paddling in it. The operation had been undertaken on the initiative of Canon Routledge (a member of the Chapter) who was looking for evidence of the areas covered by the Crypts of Lanfranc and Ernulf. The steps, together with the head and feet of a statue of an archbishop found close by, caused Mr. Austin to suspect that they had come upon the empty tomb itself. From here the story is taken up by Miss Agnes Holland (later Mrs. Bolton), daughter of Canon Francis Holland of the Chapter, who conveyed it in a series of letters to her friend Miss Lisa Rawlinson, daughter of Canon George Rawlinson, who was at that time away from home:

"The Precincts. Jan. 1888

I wish you were here more than ever. You can't think what an exciting week we have had of it. Last Monday the excavations were going on as usual in the Crypt under the Trinity Chapel, when they came upon a stone coffin exactly in the middle behind the Chapel of Our Lady. It was only a few inches below the surface of the ground, and was covered by a broken lid. This was raised, and inside we found the skeleton of a man; but instead of being laid straight out, all the bones were laid together in the upper part of the coffin—the skull, which was in two or three pieces, lying by itself in a curious little hollowed stone cushion, which was likewise broken in half."

Austin seems instantly to have made up his mind that these were the bones of St. Thomas. The site of the discovery, the broken skull, and the fine quality of the coffin which was hewn from a single slab of Portland oolite, seem to have been enough for him:

besides, there was at that time a general belief, based on a misreading of an old text, that the bones had been *buried*, not *burned*. Miss Holland goes on:

“Austin sent for the Bishop¹ and the Dean,² who came. My mother too was there and received the skull as it was taken out. . . . The bones were gathered together and taken off to Austin’s house. . . . Austin got Mr. Thornton—the doctor—to come and arrange them. I have been again and again to see them there. I made a pall of thin white sarsnet silk with a broad edge of lace at either end, because I knew people would come to look and criticise, and so they have, and I am glad to say that Mr. Waterfield said he was very glad to see that proper care was being taken of the bones, and he kept murmuring, ‘Very nice; yes, this is all very nice.’ It was my Mother’s idea, but we did not let anyone know that we had made it. The bones look most curious and strange, lying there all arranged, with the skull set up straight over a clay mould at the neck. All the bones are there, save a piece of the skull on the left side of the head. The fracture begins on the top and extends all down the left side, and it was on the left side and shoulder that the blow was struck. The corona is not cut off, but that may have been only the tradition, if this really is St. Thomas of Canterbury. Austin is convinced that it is. . . . Dr. Shepherd³ says ‘Piff paff’. . . . But he evidently is at daggers drawn with Austin. . . .”

Dr. Shepherd went so far as to make heavy insinuations that Austin had fractured the skull himself! In her next letter to her friend, Miss Holland ingenuously admits: “I do not know what to think about it all, and find myself always agreeing with the last person, which is very weak, of course.” Meanwhile Austin was keeping the bones in ‘an old box’ firmly under his personal surveillance. Clearly he was enormously enjoying himself, as various persons of local importance, and finally a certain Fr. Morris, a Jesuit from Farm Street who had written a learned article on St. Thomas, came to have a look. Fr. Morris was unconvinced; but thought the bones might be those of St. Alphege and congratulated all concerned on the ‘reverence and care with which all had been done’ (perhaps by that time Austin had found a suitable substitute for the ‘old box’).

There never was a more human place than Canterbury Cathedral; and so we find that its stories have a way of moving from the comical to the tragic and back again with disconcerting suddenness:

“The Precincts. Feb 10th

All sorts of interesting things have happened this week. For instance, on Tuesday a gentleman came over from Margate, bringing with him his son. He asked to be allowed to see the bones, and then said that the boy’s eyesight was failing, and that as he had tried all the doctors in vain, he had brought him in as a last resource to see what the bones of the saint would do for him. Austin was delighted at this, and told us with great satisfaction how the gentle-

man made the boy kneel down and put his eyes close into the sockets of the skull, saying to him 'Now no doctors can heal you; you must pray for yourself' . . ."

Meanwhile a good time was being had by all. Various persons, from Dr. Thornton to an elderly workman described by Miss Holland as 'little old Castle' had been scrambling in and out of the coffin with the object of establishing the size of the body which had once lain in it. There was general agreement, as a result of these exercises, that the whole body represented by the bones could not have fitted into the coffin; therefore the bones must have been placed there after the skeleton had for some reason broken up.

The bones were reinterred on February 10th.

"Today we received the following from the Dean: 'The bones will be replaced in the Crypt at 3.30'. And at 3.30 we were there, and just as I arrived the side door into the Innocents Chapel opened, and the little procession came in, Austin hurrying first, and then the two workmen bearing between them the bier covered with my thin white silken pall. I hastened to follow close behind, with my head and heart full of emotions, as you may imagine. They laid the bier down by the side of the rough open coffin, and then proceeded to place in it (according to my father's suggestion) a very nice strong oak shell, which exactly fitted. Seeing what was coming I took off the white silk covering and folded it and laid it in the coffin, the lace edge doubling over the curious hollowed stone pillow, which was replaced at the head. We thought Canon X winced, but I felt as bold as brass. Austin let me do what I liked. Then Austin took the skull very carefully (still upon the clay mould) and laid it on the stone cushion, where I thought it looked more frowning and terrible than ever, and then Mr. Thornton took his place, and receiving all the bones from Mr. Austin laid them according to the latter's directions exactly in the position in which they were found, all neatly arranged in the upper part of the coffin. . . . Then Austin took up a glass bottle in which a photograph of the skull and a careful record of the finding had been sealed up, and asked the Dean if he was quite satisfied, and the Dean hurried to say 'Oh, yes' and then the bottle was solemnly laid behind the head, and then the lid of oak was quickly screwed down by Andrews⁴ and we knew we had seen our last of the saint—for be he Saint Thomas of Canterbury or not, he is some great and holy person. Then they cemented round the edge of the coffin and lowered down upon it a large new stone slab weighing 15 cwt. Then, I am sorry to say, the Dean assented to the proposition that the earth should be shovelled over it all again, and in five minutes every trace was hidden. But I heard Austin suggest that something should be laid upon it to prevent people from walking over it, and the Dean assented. I murmured softly in his ear, 'Mr. Dean, wouldn't it be very nice if something was made to mark out the place? Some pavement round you know, tiles or something?' 'Oh, yes. Something we will have.' "

Miss Holland was finally persuaded by the arguments of Fr. Morris that the bones were not those of the saint. However, in 1920, at the request of Archbishop Davidson, Canon Mason of the Chapter wrote a book on the subject entitled *What Became of the Bones of Saint Thomas?* This was based partly on a report by the same Dr. Thornton who appears in Miss Holland's correspondence. Dr. Thornton was an expert on 'phrenology', the so-called science of detecting character from the shape of the head which was much in vogue at that time. Also included in Mason's book are a number of contemporary documents relating to the murder of Becket, the translation of 1220, and the destruction of the Shrine in 1538. The Canon himself believed in the authenticity of the bones. His book stresses the fact that this part of the Crypt was presented, at the dissolution, to the notorious Dr. Thorneden, 'Dick of Dover', who used it as a wine and wood cellar. This unlovable individual had formerly been a monk under Prior Goldwell, who mentions him in the well-known letter to Thomas Cromwell, in which Goldwell pleads to be given the office of Dean, having "heard of late that my brother . . . Dr. Thorneden is called in my lord of Canterbury's house Dean of Christchurch". Thorneden did not become Dean; but he was a powerful influence, first under Cromwell, and later (turning his coat) in the reign of Queen Mary when he was active in bringing Protestants to the stake. Mason suggests that he, if anyone, would have known what had happened to the bones, and this may conceivably have been his motive for walling up that part of the Crypt and stacking wood in it. A further point made by the Canon is that it is not necessary to assume that the reburial, if it occurred, was surreptitious. Canon Routledge, writing in *Archaeologia Cantiana* Vol. XXI, 1895, states that "it was the usual practice at the time of the Reformation, while destroying false relics, images and shrines, to reinter the bodies decently near the place where the shrines had stood." However, in view of the King's peculiar aversion to Archbishop Becket, his bones are unlikely to have received such considerate treatment.

Be all this as it may, by 1949 the story of the bones had become so firmly established that Dean Hewlett Johnson and his Chapter decided to have the matter out. On July 18th the tomb was reopened in their presence and in that of two eminent scientists, Dr. A. J. E. Cave from the Dept. of Anatomy at St. Bartholomew's Hospital and Jack Trevor, a Cambridge anthropologist. A full account of the proceedings is contained in *Archeologia Cantiana*, Vol. LXIV, 1951. The actual opening of the tomb must have been almost as dramatic the second time as the first. Not only had the wooden coffin of 1888 rotted away with damp; but the bones had shifted to a position entirely different from that described by Miss Holland and the bottle had been smashed. For a moment at least this must have given the onlookers a nasty shock. Then the obvious explanation dawned: the bombs. Fifteen high explosive bombs had fallen in the Precincts alone. It is a sobering thought that so great was the shaking of the foundations that a bottle was smashed several feet below the concrete floor of the Crypt.

Each bone was taken away separately and studied for two years; then they were all labelled and placed in a leaden sealed coffin which was reinterred in the same place. The verdict was that they were *not* the bones of Becket. Probably they belonged to some important personage; probably they dated from the twelfth century. But the skull, said the learned gentlemen (and this was the decisive point), had been broken as a result of a post-mortem handling or simple disintegration, not as a result of a blow on the head. The edges were jagged, they said (Dr. Thornton had said the exact opposite), which would not have been the case had the skull been severed by a sharp instrument. The deceased had suffered from arthritis and a stiff back.

The activities of successive Deans and Chapters during the past hundred years have been more than a little ghoulish. Not only has poor anonymous been twice disturbed; but King Henry IV, together with Archbishops Hubert Walter, Sudbury and Bradwardine have likewise seen the light of day, in the course of which operations the King's nose fell in, Archbishop Walter was unceremoniously disrobed, and a mysterious little fifteenth century cross made of two twigs tied together either disintegrated or was simply lost. It all seems rather sad and bad. Hereafter may they, and all those buried near them, rest in peace. Including, wherever they may be, the bones of the martyr saint.

LOIS LANG-SIMS.

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1. of Dover.
2. Payne-Smith.
3. The Seneschal.
4. This was the same Andrews, foreman of the Cathedral workmen, whose courage and presence of mind had been instrumental in saving the Cathedral in the fire of 1872.

CANTERBURY AND THE ENGLISH CHURCH AS SEEN FROM LYON¹

Whilst researching at Lyon into problems of the Gallo-Roman rural occupation of the Lyonnais (Department of the Rhone), I came across, in works of local history, several references to Canterbury and the relations between the primates of Canterbury and Lyon.

The very close relations between the two archbishoprics dates right back to the very beginning of the Anglo-Saxon church. The Archbishop of Lyon, Aetherius, had Augustine recommended to him by Pope Gregory, for Gregory had asked the bishops of Gaul, whose sees were on Augustine's route, to receive him with hospitality. What is even more important is that it was probably the Bishop of Lyon who consecrated Augustine as bishop in Arles when he returned to Gaul later on. This connection between Lyon and Canterbury continued throughout the Merovingian and Carolingian periods. As from the end of the sixth century Lyon was considered to be pre-eminent amongst all the other bishoprics of Gaul, the ecclesiastical province of Lyon containing the Bishoprics of Autun, Langres, Macon and Chalon-sur-Saône. Gregory later recommended a second mission to Aetherius; that led by Mellitus.

Our next evidence for the Lyon—Canterbury connection is Wilfrid's visit to Lyon in 653 on his way to Rome and his subsequent three-year stay (654-655 and 657-8). Wilfrid was welcomed to Lyon by Aunemundus with whom he struck up a deep friendship. Indeed, their friendship was such that Aunemundus wished Wilfrid to settle for ever in Lyon and to this end he even proposed that Wilfrid marry his niece. The secular and religious power of Aunemundus can be gauged by the fact that he proposed to Wilfrid the job of governing a region of Gaul. Powerful though he was, Aunemundus had made enemies and in 658 Queen Bathilde had him arrested and executed. Wilfrid returned to Canterbury after the execution of his friend; the *Vita Wilfridi* would have us believe that Wilfrid accompanied Aunemundus to his place of execution and was only spared due to his being a foreigner. The power of the Lyon Church is clearly seen through a study of the cartularies (Documents recording estates and land held by religious establishments), the oldest documentary evidence being for the late ninth and tenth centuries. However, it must be said that certain of the oldest cartularies, such as that of Savigny, are of doubtful precise historical value though they do show in a general way the territorial growth of the Church of Lyon.

We presume that the Lyon-Canterbury connection continued, for the historian Steyert (1895, 357) recounts that each church would send a young clergyman to be trained and brought up in the other.

The next prominent visitor from Canterbury we know of is Anselm, who fled from William Rufus in 1097 to find peace and security in France. Anselm was often in conflict with the king and

much of his primacy was spent in exile. We are told (Pavy 1836) that Anselm had been corresponding over many years with Hugues who was now Bishop of Lyon. Anselm arrived at Cluny (Sâone et Loire) just before the Christmas of 1097/1098, Hugues sent an important delegation to the Suffragan Bishop of Macon telling him to receive Anselm with all the honours due to the head of the English Church. Anselm came to stay in Lyon for three months before leaving in March 1099 for Rome where he was to discuss the problems of the English Church with the Pope. Unfortunately Anselm was not much of a politician or statesman. He returned to Lyon later in the year determined to settle there and live peacefully with his friend Hugues and devote his life to the writing of theological and philosophical works. Such was the respect of Hugues for his friend that he wished Anselm to replace him in the carrying out of certain episcopal functions. In 1100 Anselm, with Hugues at his right hand presided over the Fifth Council of Anse² in the presence of four archbishops and eight bishops. Whilst in the Lyonnais Anselm dedicated churches, preached and worked on his theological works. In 1100 the death of William Rufus ended the stay of Anselm in Lyon, a deputation of church worthies and nobles came to Lyon to ask Anselm to return to England, which he did on the 23rd September. Anselm returned to Lyon two years later for a short stay on his way back from a visit to Rome, having fallen out with the new King Henry. Sixteen months later the two were reconciled.

The most mysterious aspect of the Lyon-Canterbury connection is the local tradition of the stay of Becket in Lyon. Batisse (1970, 49) lists Lyon amongst French towns and cities associated with the memory of Becket.

Despite a lack of historical and documentary evidence for such a stay, early historians of the Lyonnais such as the Père de Colonia (1738) considered the tradition as being historical fact. Colonia (1738, 249) wrote that Becket's stay is "*une tradition constante et bien avérée dans la grande église de Lyon*". The legend recounts that whilst walking in Lyon in 1168 with the Bishop of Lyon (the former Abbot Guichard of Pontigny) Becket saw a new chapel being built at the summit of the hill of Fourvière,³ on asking to whom it was to be dedicated he received the strange reply that it was to be dedicated to Becket himself if he were martyred. Indeed an adjoining chapel to Nôtre Dame was dedicated to Becket in 1190.

Given the silence of contemporary historians with regard to this supposed stay in Lyon, one is forced to consider the story as being a local legend largely brought about by the long existing Lyon-Canterbury link and the previous stay of Anselm when he had fallen out with the King of his day. The historical documents cited to prove the stay of Becket only prove the closeness of relations between the two churches. The oldest evidence quoted is the dedication in 1190 (Batisse 1970, 49) or 1192 (according to some local historians) of the new chapel adjoining Nôtre Dame to St.

Thomas Becket, this dedication just a few years after Becket's martyrdom only shows the mutual esteem of the Churches of Lyon and Canterbury. The legend of Becket's stay in Lyon also informs us that he was given a house in the cloisters of the Cathedral of St. Jean and a rich estate at Quincieux.⁴ The historian Kleinclausz (1939, 138) wrote that the gift of the house in the cloister was posterior to the martyrdom of Becket, such a gift being another sign of the strength and depth of relations between the two archbishoprics. No document proves that the gift of the house can be dated as far back as the period of Becket. In 1243 the will of Guillaume de la Palud, Archdeacon of Vienne and Provost of Fourvière indicates that he occupied the house of the Archbishopric of Canterbury. We are told that to repossess the house the Archbishopric would have to pay for certain repairs that Guillaume had carried out at his own expense. In 1411 the Chapter of Lyon wrote to the Archbishopric of Canterbury to ask him to take care of the house and of the estate at Quincieux. In 1416 a further letter informed the Chapter of Canterbury that the manor of Quincieux, which had been a symbol of the long lasting link and fraternity between the two churches, was granted to Guillaume de Saleen for the rest of his life. The reason given was that the Hundred Years War had stopped all trade between England and France and prevented representatives of Canterbury from visiting Lyon and looking after their territorial possessions.

It is clear that the evidence quoted as proving the story of Becket in Lyon is inconclusive and merely proves the strength of the link between the two Archbishoprics. However, this is by no means the end of the link. It is most unlikely that the house of Canterbury has its origin in the consecration in 1181 of Jean Bellesmains as Bishop of Lyon, although such an assertion is contrary to Kleinclausz's view. Bellesmains was born in Canterbury and was a friend of Becket, he became treasurer of York and then Bishop of Poitiers (whose see depended upon the King of England) before becoming Bishop of Lyon. When in Lyon he continued to write to his old friend Guillaume Malvoisin, Bishop of Glasgow, who had also been ordained in Lyon.

The last item of evidence I propose to show is that of the inscription on the tomb of Etienne de Montluel,⁵ Archdeacon of Canterbury and Vienne who died on the 6th August, 1268 (Allmer and Terrebasse 1875, Vol. 6, No. 425). Boniface of Savoy was Bishop of Belley, Valence and then Archbishop of Canterbury, this move being brought about by the favour of his niece Eleanor, wife of Henry III. Etienne de Montluel was one of the many nobles and clergymen who accompanied Boniface to England, and in 1264 Etienne is quoted as being Archdeacon of Canterbury and was also chosen to be executor of Boniface's will. Boniface retired to France after twenty-five years; he was followed by Etienne who settled at Vienne where he became Archdeacon.

It has been agreeable to read about the links of the Churches of Lyon and Canterbury. Too often in the histories and documents of

the Middle Ages in the Lyonnais one reads of the disasters and pillage wrecked by bands of English on the native population. This is a pleasant reminder that l'Entente Cordiale, at least between our two churches, dates back to the Merovingian period.

STEPHEN WALKER.

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1. This article is dedicated to the memory of my grandfather, W. G. Martin, Guide at Canterbury Cathedral who inspired my love for Canterbury.
2. Anse is a town of Gallo-Roman origin situated 25 kms. to the north of Lyon in the Saône valley. Eight councils of the Church of Lyon were held at the priory of St. Romain just outside the walls of Anse. The priory's origin is traditionally dated to the early sixth century. Anse itself was the centre of one of the ecclesiastical territorial divisions of the medieval Diocese of Lyon.
3. Fourviere is the hill which dominates the river Saône, the cathedral of St. Jean was situated on a narrow strip of land between the foot of Fourviere and the banks of the Saône.
4. Quincieux is situated near to Anse on the fertile alluvions of the Saône.
5. Montluel is situated on the banks of the Rhône in the modern Department of Ain.

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RICHARD BESELEY

Richard Beseley was born in Newington, Oxford or London in or about 1514 of a fairly well-to-do family. His father Thomas Beseley was a herald and thus a member of the College of Arms. On 5th November, 1522, Thomas Beseley, Rougedragon pursuivant at arms, was granted a patent appointing him Bluemantle pursuivant at arms with an income of £10 a year.¹ On 12th February, 1527/8 he was appointed York Herald with a salary of £13.6s.8d. (£13.34p) in succession to Nicholas Toke. He died at midsummer 1530.²

The young Richard Beseley was not unprovided for. His father had known Thomas Cromwell, Henry VIII's First Secretary and Vicar General as Richard later acknowledged in a letter.³ In 1529 Robert Wodward, Priest and Warden of All Souls College, Oxford wrote to Cromwell:

"Whereas you desire that this bearer, Richard Biseley, your scholar, should be chosen one of our fellows, I am very glad of your command; but what you desire is not in me alone but in the more part of the fellows. I shall endeavour to bring them over to your and my wish. If they will not consent, I will not agree to any person they shall choose, and then it will fall into the hands of my lord's grace of Canterbury, our founder, to elect anyone he pleases. Please, therefore, write to him and beg him to write to me and my company at this time, and then you will be sure to have your scholar elected."⁴

This letter was written on 29th July, 1529. It is clear that Wodward knew that Richard Beseley was well-known to Cromwell and moreover that he thought highly of him. He speaks of Beseley as Cromwell's scholar which suggests that Cromwell may have paid for some of Richard's schooling or that he spent some years as a scholar in Cromwell's household. Richard's later progress at Oxford proves that he was highly intelligent and he no doubt attracted the attention of Thomas Cromwell when in his father's company. Cromwell was no fool. He used patronage as a means of securing loyalty. He promoted men of humble birth to ensure their dependance on him, and such men were, like Cromwell himself, career men whose ultimate loyalty was to their king. Intellectuals like Beseley were loyal to him out of gratitude and because they were committed to his ideas. Cranmer gave him his friendship for the same reasons. Others because they had evangelical leanings.

His enemies said that Cromwell was the leader of a countrywide conspiracy of heretics, a feudal retinue. It is true that throughout the country there were protestant minded gentlemen and clerics who supported or were dependent on him but they were never a feudal retinue. Master Richard Tracy of Gloucestershire who was indebted to Cromwell for aid over the posthumous heresy proceedings against his father was typical of these men. Cromwell himself denied he had a retinue of feudal followers intent on destroying the monarchy and religion. He had, he said, only

members of his household who were youths sent by their parents for an upbringing, as indeed was the case in many a Tudor household. Yet parents who sent their children there can have had little doubt about the religion of such a household where young men like Bartholomew Traheron who had visited Calvin and Zwingli, and had brought back books from Bullinger for Cromwell, were accepted into service. Beseley's career shows that he absorbed and supported his patron's evangelical and protestant views, but neither he down in Staplehurst nor any of the others could be used by Cromwell to advance the Church of England along true evangelical lines at this early stage because both his and their loyalty was to the king.⁵

However, the voting and decision went among the fellows of All Souls College, Richard Beseley won his fellowship there and obtained his B.A. degree on 20th February, 1531/2. Three years later on 21st April, 1535 he gained his M.A. degree.⁶ Seven months later, on 15th November, 1535, Thomas Cromwell presented him to the rectory of Staplehurst in Kent in succession to another Nicholas Toke.⁷ His gratitude to his patron was unbounded and it is perhaps worth quoting in full the letter he wrote to Cromwell on this occasion as it not only gives a very clear picture of the young man but also shows the relationship between them.

“To the Right honorable and my singuler good Master, Mr. Crumwell, chieffe Secretarie unto the kinges Highnes.

When I consyder with my selfe, and revolve in my mynde (as eftsons I doo) Right Honorable and my singuler good Master, your manyfolde benefites doon, partlye unto Yorke the harrolde my father decessed, but especialye to me his son: I am then forthewith greved with dolour and sorowe, not (as who saythe) repentinge your goodnes, for that were follie, but lamentinge and sorowinge, that my serviabie mynde cannot excogitate somme meane and way, wherebie I myght somewhat declare and expresse my due office and service unto you, whiche alwais have ben and ar my only Patron and sautour towarde studye of good lerninge, as apperethe in your deades by evidente demonstration. Firste ye appoynted me student in Oxforde in the nue Colledg, which nue transposede afterwarde, ye promotede me to the felowshipe of Alsolne Colledge, and now have preferred me to a benefice for suere contynuanche of lerninge, so that all my bringinge up in studye hathe depended oonlye un your liberalitie. O so great benifecence, who is so dulle that perceavethe hit not; who so unkinde, that recordethe not so greate benifecence; forsthe no christien creature, for this is the deade more of a parent, then of a patrone, even as the wise man saithe: the better parte of a father is not to begette a sone, but the childe boorne, to see him Instructe, as his age encreacethe, in humanitie and other kind of good Condition. And the proverbe: better a childe ungotten then untought: for he that lyveth unlerned, is as dedde lyvinge, as when he is dedde in deade, yet lyveth his name in disdainfull reproche, forthat he shewde no

parte of lyvelye lerninge, when he was a lyve. Whiche better parte, your goodnes hathe doon for me, wherbye I am no leasse beholden and bownde to you, then to my naturall father, if he were agayne in this worlde lyvinge; therfor now if I agayne for my parte, have in any kind of doctrine, anythinge at all profiyede, as I truste I have somewhat: wholly that I owe unto you, my speciall master, and so reverntlye, with all humble thanks, I refer hit unto you, offering in moost lowlye wise, that if therebe any thinge in me, that may be acceptable and pleasaunt to you; ye shall have all, my herte, service, prayer and brieflye my selfe, even assurdiye faithfull, diligent, and secrete always, as any of your howsolde servendes, as knowthe Almightye god, who have you still in his blessed tuition. From Oxforde the xxth day of Januarie, by thande of your Scoler and servende Richard Besiley.”⁸

Sometime between 1535 and 1538 Richard Beseley was made one of Henry VIII’s chaplain’s with the title *sacellanus* which was peculiar to that office. For this he may have been licenced on 21st April, 1535.⁹ He continued his studying but appears to have taken up residence in Staplehurst in 1538 at least for part of the time. The parish register is written in his own fine Secretary hand from that date when they were ordered to be kept by Thomas Cromwell.¹⁰ On 24th March, 1539/40 he took his B.D. degree and in 1547/8 the degree of Doctor of Divinity.¹¹ Cromwell’s untimely death on 29th July, 1540 may have left him with few friends in Oxford or London, and certainly fewer at court, and he appears to have become almost permanently resident in his parish at this time. He also employed Robert Stockton as his curate there.¹²

In March, 1547/8 Richard Beseley married. In his parish register he recorded the event.

“On March 24th. Master Richard Beseley, teacher of Holy Scripture, chaplain to the late high and mighty prince King Henry VIII of blessed memory and Rector of this church accepted in marriage and married Jane Lenarde, an orphan, a virgin and a poor, modest and honest little girl.”

He had evidently lost no time in availing himself of an Act of Convocation asserting the right of the clergy to marry, even though the bill legalising such marriage had not then been passed in Parliament. In the baptism entry for his first child he included the words ‘his lawfull wif’ as if to emphasise the fact that Parliament had agreed and that marriage of the clergy had been legalised.

The entry is also interesting as a record of the first use of Cranmer’s English Prayer Book.

“The ninthe day of June (1549). This day being whitsonday (wherin the booke of the Common prayer and Administration of the Sacramentes and other rites and Cereminies of the Church, after the use of the Church of Englonde, begon to be executed) there was first baptised Marie the dawghter of Richard beseley parson of this parish Church borne the last thursday (at 5 a.m.) of his lawfull wif Jane. Who were married the yere before and in the

firste day that the holly communion in the English tonge (after thorder that now is) was here mynystred thei bothe, with others most humblye and devoutlie communicating the same. The parson Christened his owne childe."

The 24th March, 1547/8 was the Saturday before Palm Sunday. The service of Holy Communion in English was issued early in March and the bishops ordered that it should be used for the first time on Easter Day, 1st April. Richard Beseley anticipated that order, as he did that legalising marriage of the clergy. He also saw no objection to a marriage in Lent. The register entry is an interesting record of a nuptial mass at which the guests communicated as well as the newly married pair. Again, Richard Beseley was ahead of all his contemporaries. In the 1549 Prayer Book the rubric at the end of the Marriage Service stated that 'The newe married persones (the same daye of their marriage) must receive the holy communion'.

Their second child, another daughter, was born in 1550. Again in the register entry he harps upon the lawfulness of his marriage. "The seconde of November There was baptised Benet the dawghter of Richard beseley parson of this parishe by his lawfull wif Jane. Born 1 November at 8 p.m."

Richard Beseley's daughter Marie may have died at about this time because his third child was christened Mary. The register entry was made by the child's godfather, Robert Stockton the curate and a family friend. "On the 10th day of July (1552) Ther was Baptysyd Mary beseley the dawghter of Mr. Richard beseley parson of staplehurst—whose godfather I am—borne the 8th day of the same at 5 a.m."

This is the last reference in the parish register to Beseley. He left the parish in the charge of Robert Stockton his friend and curate, a married priest like himself and moved to Canterbury. According to Anthony Wood he was a learned and excellent preacher and well-known to Archbishop Thomas Cranmer.¹³ In 1552 he was appointed a Six Preacher in Canterbury Cathedral and during the next two years exercised his gifts there.¹⁴ He and his family lived in a small house in the Cathedral precincts.

Perhaps he foresaw the difficulties and dangers to come after the death of Edward VI. The king was a sick man and unlikely to have children. His successor was his elder sister Mary, a Roman Catholic who made no secret of her intentions to sweep away her father's innovations. Through his association with Cromwell and Cranmer, Beseley was now a firm supporter of the Church of England as by law established. He had been diligent in transforming his church. Plate had been sold, vestments disposed of and saints lights abolished. On the other hand, his pursuit of scholarship and learning seem to have led him to neglect his church and parsonage house in Staplehurst. Both were found to be in a bad state of repair in 1556.¹⁵ In 1554 the blow fell. On 15th March he was deprived of his Six Preachership.¹⁶ On 6th May he was deprived of his living also, on both counts because he was a married priest.¹⁷ With many

of his contemporaries he fled to Frankfurt and in 1557 was living on the Mentzer Strasse. His companions in exile were John Bale later a prebendary at Canterbury and Robert Pownall a Six Preacher. In April of that same year he put his signature to the *New Discipline* and in January, 1559 just before he returned to England, he also signed the reply to the local congregation in Geneva.¹⁸

Some time after Queen Mary's death, and probably in 1560, the living of Staplehurst was restored to him, as was his Six Preacher-ship in 1559. He returned to Canterbury and remained a Six Preacher until at least 1581 and probably until his death.¹⁹ In the 1569 Visitation of Archbishop Parker he is described as 'Six Preacher, resident at Canterbury and hospitable'.²⁰

Jane and Richard Beseley lived comfortably in Canterbury. He had an income from Staplehurst of at least £20 a year.²¹ His salary as a Six Preacher was £6 a year which he received regularly from 1552-1554 and 1561 until his death plus a house in the Cathedral precincts and some free fuel from the many trees that grew there then.²² Their house was not large but adequate with two large chambers, a parlour, hall, kitchen, a paved chamber and a study. The walls of the study were obviously lined with books in large numbers because his appraisers who were supposed to list them after his death made no attempt to do so and made an estimated valuation of £7 for them as one lot. This was a large sum for books then and represents one-fifth of the total sum of all his goods. The chambers were well provided with beds and bedding; there was linen in plenty and pewter as well as six silver spoons. The walls of the chambers and hall were hung with painted linen hangings. Many of the furnishings, cushions and curtains were green. Others were in tapestry flower work. In the parlour, most unusually, there was a pewter pot for flowers and a brasen ewer.²³

Richard Beseley died between 23rd April when he made his will and 19th May 1585 when his successor was appointed to Staplehurst. By special permission of the Dean and Chapter he was buried in the Cathedral near his two friends and companions in exile John Bale and Richard Pownall. He mentions this in his will:

"And my bodey I will to be buryed in the bodey of the said cathedrall church of Christe in Canterbury with consent of the Deane and Chapter nere unto the bodyes of John Bale and Robart Pownall my companions in exile professors and preachers of the sacred word of our good god whose goodnes hath restored us into our natyve countye to rest and slepe together after our travell . . ."

He was probably by then at least 70 years of age. He had been a priest and preacher all his life and a true believer who had never deviated from nor doubted his first firm convictions either in his God or the Church of England. In his will he sets down his confession of faith which is so concise as to be worth quoting in full:

"I Richard Beseley of the cathedrall church of Christe in Canterburye called to be a preacher of the glorious gospell of Jesu Christe and a minister of his holy sacramentes . . . bequeathe my

soule into the handes of the most holy blessed and glorious trynitye thre parsons and one god in unitye the Father the sonne and the holy ghoste to whom be eternall glorye amen.” After his request to be buried near Bale and Pownall, he continues that they will all rest and sleep together “till the resurrection in the last day at what tyme all the deade shall rise againe and we with the rest of goods electe shall to our greate only and endeles comforte mete Christe Jesus to judge us who hath alredeye redemed [us] by his bitter passion with whome we shall possesse eternall lyfe and joy everlasting *hec spes mea reposita est in sinu meo*”,²⁴

His family motto was *Steadfast* and truly describes him.²⁵ He was a gifted, progressive and farsighted man and a man of his own times. Promotion would certainly have come to him had not Cromwell died so tragically.

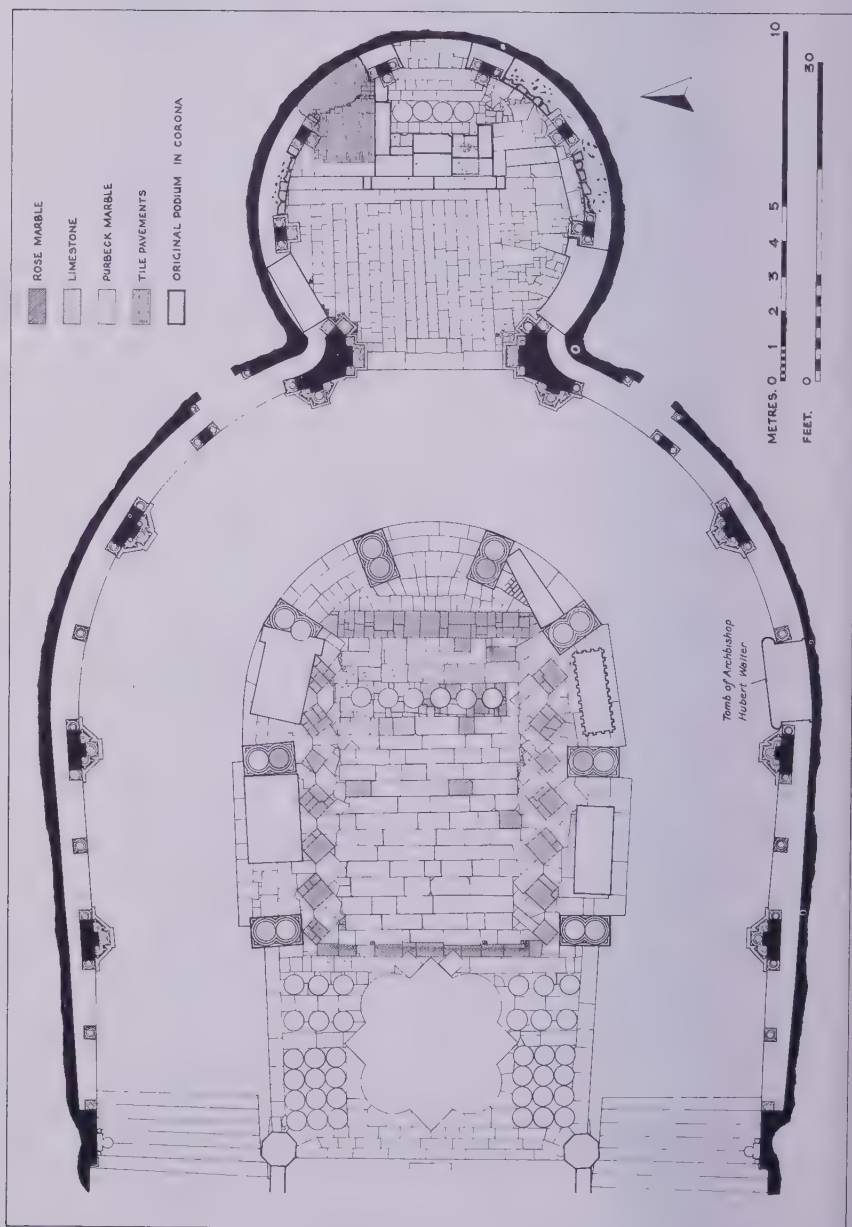
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1. *Letters and Papers Henry VIII*, 1522, 2654.
2. *Ibid.* 1528, 3991 (12) and 5130.
3. See reference 7 below.
4. *Letters and Papers Henry VIII*, 1529, 29th July.
5. See Beckingsale, B. W., *Thomas Cromwell, Tudor Minister*, London, 1978.
6. *Alumni Oxonienses*, ed. Foster.
7. *Letters and Papers Henry VIII*, 1535, no. 68; and T. S. Frampton's notes on the Archbishopal registers in the Cathedral Archives.
8. *Letters and Papers Henry VIII*, 1535, No. 68; and State Papers SPI/89.
9. *Alumni Oxonienses*, ed. Foster.
10. Original register in Kent Archives Office, Maidstone. See also *Archaeologia Cantiana*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 283-299; Chamberlain, J. S. FF., Staplehurst Register.
There were also two sons of the marriage, Basil and Bartholomew. They may have been born either in Canterbury or in exile. The cathedral register is incomplete unfortunately. Bartholomew was abroad at the time of his parent's death.
11. *Alumni Oxonienses*, ed. Foster.
12. See Reference 10 above.
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15. Archdeacon Harpsfield's Visitation 1556. See Catholic Record Society edition, pp. 183-185.
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17. *Ibid.* f. 67.
18. Information supplied by Canon D. I. Hill.
19. Dean and Chapter Miscellaneous Accounts 41, 1576-1642. There are no surviving accounts for the years 1582-1585.
20. Archbishop Parker's Visitation. Canterbury Diocesan Archives.
21. *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, 1536, f. 95.
22. Cathedral Archives. Miscellaneous Accounts 40, 1541-1575 and 41 as above.

23. Kent Archives Office, PRC 21/7, f. 263. Inventory of Richard Beseley, 1585.
24. Kent Archives Office, PRC 32/35, f. 167. Will of Richard Beseley made 23rd April, 1585; proved 10th June, 1585. His wife Jane died at about the same time probably from some contagious illness which may also have killed her husband.
25. Pedigree of Byseley, Bisley or Beazley published in *Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica*, 1929.

I acknowledge the permission of the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury, the County Archivist of Kent and the Keeper of the Public Records to quote extracts from their records.

ANNE M. OAKLEY.



THE TRINITY CHAPEL AND CORONA FLOORS

Eight hundred years ago this spring work began on the main part of the Trinity Chapel and Corona, the final stages of the rebuilding of the Cathedral after the disastrous fire of 1174. It is appropriate perhaps, after the celebrations last year marking the completion of the choir, that we should look this year at the Trinity Chapel and Corona, and particularly at the floors of these two areas that were so closely associated with the shrine of St. Thomas Becket.

In writing about any aspect of St. Thomas Becket, one is conscious that this was a subject which William Urry had made his own. It is therefore with great sadness that I write this a few days after his death, particularly as only a few months ago we had discussed the floor and the use of rose-pink marble in it and in the surrounding area. And, as with all my discussions with William Urry, references and ideas came pouring out of his head in the most extraordinary way, and much of what I shall put down here has benefited from his comments.¹

During the last year or so, one of the Canterbury Archaeological Trust's draughtsmen, Laurie Sartin, has made a detailed plan of the interior of the Trinity Chapel and Corona in Canterbury Cathedral. This work started when the British Archaeological Association held their spring conference in Canterbury in 1979, and it has concentrated mainly on the study of the floors in the Trinity Chapel itself and in the Corona² (Fig. 1). The western section of the floor of the Trinity Chapel, the *Opus Alexandrinum* pavement and the sculptured stone roundels, have been studied in detail in 1930 by N. E. Toke³ and his conclusions, that this floor was probably laid in the few years before the Translation in 1220 by Italian craftsmen who also had close connections with St. Omer, are still valid today, and I will not discuss this aspect of the floor any further. The eastern portion of the floor, however, has not as far as I know been studied in detail and for this reason a careful measured drawing has been made of all the stones in the floor as they are today. In doing this, three main types of stones were discerned, Purbeck marble, a white pelletal limestone and a rose-pink marble. Purbeck marble is by far the commonest material in use here and it was of course first used in a large way in Canterbury Cathedral, particularly for column shafts, during the rebuilding after the fire of 1174. Virtually the whole of the ambulatory floor (which is almost certainly still in large part a medieval floor), is in Purbeck marble, though a local Kentish form of this polished, fossiliferous limestone, Bethersden marble, appears also to have been used. The white pelletal limestone which must come from North-west France, perhaps the Caen area, is used only for six of the main columns in the Trinity Chapel and in odd fragments of the Trinity Chapel which as we shall see below are almost certainly not in their original position. Finally we come to the rose-pink marble, an exceptionally rare form of stone which probably came from the Mediterranean area and is only used in this one small area of the

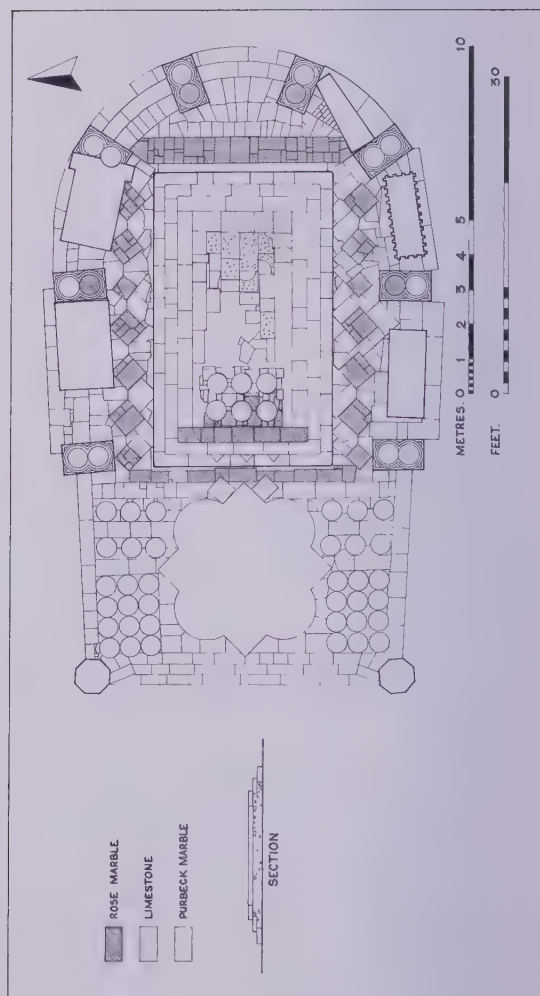


Fig. 2. Reconstructed plan and section of the podium of the shrine of St. Thomas.

Cathedral.⁴ This marble, which is probably the only true 'marble' to be found in the Medieval period in the Cathedral, is used for parts of only four of the main column drums in the Trinity Chapel. It is also used for bases, shaft rings and capitals, of the three free-standing columns on the north and south sides of the ambulatory, and can be clearly distinguished from the Purbeck marble used elsewhere not only by its pink colour but also because, being a much harder stone, it is far less worn than the Purbeck. In the floor area of the shrine itself, the rose-pink marble is used in a lozenge pattern on the north and south sides of the shrine and in two strips at the east and west end of the shrine as well as for various odd pieces in the middle of the floor. The rose-pink marble was also used almost certainly for the shrine itself, and the few surviving fragments (now in the Cathedral Library) which probably came from this shrine are in this marble.⁵

Apart from the different types of stone used in the Trinity Chapel floor, the pattern of wear marks on the floor has also been studied, and from the uneven nature of the stones laid north-south in the middle of the floor it is quite clear that these stones have been roughly relaid at a later date. Most of these latter stones have wear marks on one edge suggesting that they were originally used for steps. It is very likely therefore that these were the steps around the shrine itself, and this is given added weight by the existence of some stones which have a wear mark on two sides. These were clearly corner steps. The dividing line between the original floor and the relaid portion in the centre (mainly containing the reused steps) is clearly visible as a very irregular line having many broken edges. Just outside this line a very shallow but distinctive worn groove may be discerned (marked as a fine stipple on Fig. 1) which runs in a roughly rectangular shape with only its east end difficult to trace. This must be the wear mark below the bottom step, and gives the final clue as to the form of the base of the podium for the shrine. It is now possible to do a 'jig-saw' (on paper) with the reused steps in the central area of the floor and these in fact fit together perfectly to make three steps (Fig. 2). All these steps were in Purbeck marble except one line of steps at the top, which is in rose-pink marble. This must have been at the east, or more likely the west, end of the podium. Three other steps, which one can suggest were used as the middle bottom row steps at the west end to match the lozenge-shapes in the pavement, have triangular-shaped hollows in them. The other fragments in the central area of the floor at the east end, including the six roundels, are much more difficult to reconstruct, and Fig. 2 only suggests one of several suggested positions. The altar attached to the shrine must have been on the west side and hence it is possible to suggest that the roundels, surrounded in part by the rose-pink marble, were originally positioned in front of it.⁶ The other fragments, with rough tool-marks on them, may have come from the core of the shrine as may the white pelletal limestone blocks. In Fig. 2, however, they are just shown in the central floor area. It is possible therefore, to reconstruct with certainty the three steps of the podium for the shrine,

though unlike at Westminster Abbey where the original form of the shrine can also be reconstructed,⁷ it will never be possible to go further than this without finding the missing pieces of the shrine.

Even though the shrine, and perhaps the podium beneath it, were probably not constructed until 1213-20, the use of the rose-pink marble in the columns as well as in the floor proves that the material for making the shrine had almost certainly arrived in Canterbury by 1181 at the latest. In some earlier histories of the Cathedral mention is made of gifts of stone by the Pope (Alexander III, 1159-81), but William Urry told me that they have no factual basis unfortunately. However, the use of this very rare rose-pink marble only in the shrine area of the Cathedral and for the shrine, does suggest that it was specially acquired in the Mediterranean area (perhaps from an ancient classical building) in about 1180. A gift from the Pope, who had been involved in all the Henry II-Becket confrontations, would have been most appropriate. It was Pope Alexander, too, who canonized Becket in the spring of 1173.

Turning to the Corona floor, this too still retains much that is medieval and most of the Purbeck marble in the western half of the floor (Fig. 1) is certainly still of a 13th century date. Only on the south side, in the area in front of the Archbishop Frederick Temple's monument, has it been damaged and replaced. In the eastern segment of the Corona, two steps lead up to a raised platform that we have also studied in detail in the last few months. This platform, which must also be medieval, was built in two main stages. First a roughly square podium of two steps was erected in the centre (marked with heavy lines in Fig. 1). Then the platform was extended on the north and south, and on the north side at least a new geometric tile mosaic was laid over the whole area including the wall passage. This tile mosaic and the decorated tiles next to it (which are, however, probably not *in situ*) have been shown by Mark Horton and Christopher Norton⁸ to date from about 1285-90 and it has been suggested by them that this refurbishing of the Corona area was carried out early in the Priorate of Henry of Eastry after the visit to the shrine (and the presenting of some handsome gifts) by the pious King Edward I.⁹ If this is correct, it means that the central part of the podium is earlier than this, and almost certainly dates from about 1220, and was the place "in which is preserved a part of the head of St. Thomas the martyr" as a bull of Indulgence of Pope Boniface IX (c. 1395) tells us.¹⁰ The eastern part of this podium has a relatively recent floor (including two fragments of early 19th century gravestones), and this must have been the position where the base of the Corona shrine was located. This shrine, like the great shrine in the Trinity Chapel, was destroyed in 1538. A large early 13th century base (also in pink marble) now kept just inside the Cathedral Library door has been suggested by William Urry to be the base of the Corona shrine.¹¹ The four roundels like those in the centre of the Trinity Chapel floor must also have been removed to here in post-medieval times. However, the Purbeck marble slabs of the western half of the

podium must be original. These still have on them the very worn remains of an inlaid decoration which appears also to have been of figures in small roundels. Only one of these roundels (on the south side—see Fig. 1) still retains any vestiges of its decoration (in this case part of an animal can be seen¹²), and it is likely that these were made *in situ*, perhaps by the same men with the St. Omer connections who made the larger roundels. In its original form, this central podium would have had steps down to the floor level on the north and south as well (now buried below the later floor) as on the west, and the small roundels surrounded on three sides by a shallow groove (Fig. 1) were carefully placed on the podium on either side of the east-west axis of the Corona. The heavy wear on them must certainly be due to the many pilgrims who came to the shrine.

It is possible therefore by careful examination of these floor areas to understand much more of the details of the great shrine for which this area of the Cathedral was designed. Very few areas of medieval flooring now survive in the Cathedral and it is fitting that both these important floors are not now walked on constantly by the modern tourist. The one other large area of *in situ* medieval floor still surviving in the Cathedral is of course in the North West Transept where the massive grave-slabs of several late Medieval Archbishops and Priors (the brasses have unfortunately been robbed long ago) are still in their original positions surrounding the once very sacred spot where St. Thomas was murdered. Against the southern part of the east wall of this transept was once located the 'Altar of the Swordpoint', and though this too was destroyed in 1538, traces of the ends of the iron railing, which surrounded it, still survive in the wall at the bottom. Is it not time for this area also to be roped off from the constant tread of the modern tourist? A passage along the southern side would be left for access to the crypt, but the whole of the north-eastern area could be roped off and the various tomb slabs could be given small labels. After all the best way to look at the site of the martyrdom is not to stand on it but to observe it from above (near the entrance to the north choir aisle).

TIM TATTON-BROWN.

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2. The proceedings of this conference are due to be published within the next year, and this will contain articles on the 11th and 12th century architectural history of the Cathedral.
3. N. E. Toke. "The Opus Alexandrinum and sculptured stone roundels in the retro-choir of Canterbury Cathedral". *Archaeologia Cantiana* 42 (1930) pp. 189-221.

4. The source of this marble has yet to be found. I am, however, greatly indebted to Martyn Owen of the Geological Museum for his comments on it and on the other stones used here.
5. See William Urry's list of these fragments in *Op. cit. supra*, pp. 205-6.
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10. Quoted in C. E. Woodruff, "The financial aspect of the cult of St. Thomas of Canterbury". *Archaeologia Cantiana* 44 (1932) p. 15, footnote 1.
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12. Suggested by M. C. Horton and E. C. Norton. *Op. cit. supra*, to be a centaur.

A SERMON AT EVENSONG

Preached in Canterbury Cathedral on Sunday, 27th April, 1980

by Robert Murray, S.J.

Readings: Isaiah 62, Revelation 19, 1-10.

*Hymn before the sermon: Richard Baxter's 'He wants not friends
that hath Thy love'.*

“Dear Friends in Jesus Christ:

It is friendship which has called me, across dividing lines of church communion, to share your worship this evening and to share with you my response to the word of God, to the manifestation of God's glory in his martyrs, and to the beauty of this house of God, the enhancement of which, eight hundred years ago, we are celebrating today. What a joyful conjunction of themes! What one theme can possibly gather and concentrate our thoughts and our responses on such an occasion? For there is still more to rejoice in: the visit of Benedictine brothers and sisters from the Abbey of Le Bec Hellouin, which gave Lanfranc and St. Anselm to Canterbury, and from St. Augustine's Abbey in Ramsgate, which perpetuates the name and the monastic family of Canterbury's first missionary.

What one theme, but the Communion of Saints? So I thought, and that brought to mind a favourite hymn. I asked for it, and we have just sung it; but alas! without the word for which I chose it. Baxter, who called himself a 'meer Catholick', used the Catholic phrase:

In the communion of Saints
Is wisdom, safety and delight,

but the editors of *Hymns Ancient and Modern* have to give us 'blest fellowship'. Please, may we rejoin Richard Baxter? I wanted to bring him in for another reason too. Our celebration centres on the past glories of this cathedral and on the martyrs of past and present, including your two martyred archbishops of Canterbury. But there are many Christians in Britain who owe the same origins of ancestral faith to Augustine's preaching, but who have become, in the course of the ages, 'several vessels' of God's fleet, 'parted far, by tempests tost'. Baxter fought, preached, wrote and suffered for his ideal of Catholic unity, but he was broken by the reaction under Charles II which forced him, though episcopally ordained, to range himself with the ejected ministers and to accept the choice of silence or imprisonment. My own background is in the kind of nonconformity which looks back to Baxter's witness, his integrity and seriousness, but also to his vision of Catholic unity, a vision too broad for his century. My own path led me in a direction which Baxter could not have approved, but not, I hope, away from his spirit, a spirit which I believe speaks today more clearly than ever.

I too stand before you as a 'non-conformist', welcomed now by dear friends in the Chapter here, but one whose spiritual forebears in the Society of Jesus could enter their own land only under pain

of death for themselves and for those who accepted their ministry. But—to quote one who loved this cathedral and brought his best gifts to serve God here—

Why should we celebrate
These dead men more than the dying?
It is not to ring the bell backward
Nor is it an incantation
To summon the spectre of a Rose.
We cannot revive old factions
We cannot restore old policies
Or follow an antique drum.
These men, and those who opposed them
And those whom they opposed
Accept the constitution of silence
And are folded in a single party.

That is Eliot's characteristically low-key way of speaking of Baxter's century. The 'constitution of silence' is the ending of bitter controversy; an essential thing, even if it is not yet harmonious unity. The 'single party' is the Communion of Saints. Eliot's quiet phrases say little; Baxter's say much, and with a remarkable choice of words.

In the communion of Saints
Is wisdom, safety and delight—

who today would think of saying this, of naming these three things as the primary treasures of the saints? Wisdom, safety, delight. These are things we must chew on, to get the juice out of them. But first we must think more of the first phrase, the communion of saints. 'Here and above' said Baxter.

Above: our elder brethren of God's first creation, the angels; the 'watchmen' God has set upon the walls of Jerusalem (Isaiah 62, 6); the adoring hosts whose song John the seer heard, they whose 'Holy, holy, holy' we echo and share at the beginning of every eucharistic prayer of every Christian tradition; the one who checked John from worshipping him, saying 'I am a fellow servant with you and your brethren who hold the testimony of Jesus' (Rev. 19, 10). And then the saints of our own race who have gone before us; those who held and handed on 'the testimony of Jesus'; those who received grace to seal that testimony with their blood: Alphege, grotesquely slaughtered after miserable months as an unredeemed hostage; Thomas, cut down over there in the transept on his way to evensong; the martyrs of your communion and mine in Uganda; my Jesuit brother Rutilio Grande in El Salvador three years ago, and Archbishop Romero a month ago. Wisdom, safety and delight?

'Here and above'. The saints we have known on earth: men and women of faith who followed Christ our Lord, each in his or her circumstances of life, ordinary or extraordinary. Now, perhaps, 'wisdom' and 'delight' begin to say more to us, as we measure the words against the memories which are arising in your heart and mine, even as I speak. An old-fashioned word, wisdom: unchanged

since Anglo-Saxon. King Alfred said that in St. Gregory's *Pastoral Care* God had poured out for us 'wisdomes stream'. How we need to drink of it—how we must pray for it! Delight flies in the wind and can take root in the unlikeliest places; but wisdom we must work for. It is in the communion of saints.

What is the communion of saints? There is a partial word-play in the phrase *communio sanctorum*. One aspect of it is the sharing of holy things, the means of holiness which Christ has given to his Church. The word 'communion' essentially means both a union of spirits and hearts in faith and love, and the expression and seal of that union by the other sense of 'communion', Holy Communion, the sacramental means of union with and in Christ through his body and blood. When we say 'communion of saints' we name this complex reality, this union at the levels both of spirit and of bodily eating and drinking; at the levels of worship of God, of acceptance of each other in Christian fellowship, and of a generous and energetic will to share the same with every fellow-creature who will accept the message and the gift. And as we face this complexity, this glorious richness, we can begin to understand what Baxter meant by 'safety'. He meant no mere reaching-out for comfortable psychological security, but the conviction that 'I must be', and I must help others to be, close to the one and only source of healing, strength and lifegiving fellowship.

But with that comes the agony. Who has this safety, and how much? In heaven it unites the angels and the saints, 'with whom for ever I must be'. But we may not set aside the communion of saints to be fulfilled merely in the next life. The two levels of communion belong together and it is against their nature for them to be separated. They signify each other, they guarantee each other, they build each other up. Yet on earth this totality is impaired and broken. Not totally impaired, not totally broken; but the essential link between eucharistic communion and the communion of saints has been let go, wherever Christians celebrate the Holy Communion on conditions which do not signify and effect the visible unity of all Christians here on earth. We may recognize many others as fellow-believers in the same true God: indeed, this unites Christians, Jews and Moslems. But as Christians we hold our faith in and through Christ; it is *his* communion that we seek. As between Christians, a wide range of denominations are united in many essential beliefs: in God, three in One; in Jesus Christ, truly Man and God; in the power of God's Word and his grace, in the sacramental dispensation, in the fundamentals of Christian life and witness. But our historic disagreements—most often, about the nature and administration of the Eucharist, the sacrament of unity!—keep us divided; that is, they keep our practice of communion on earth out of harmony with our faith in the communion of saints. Do we feel this disharmony keenly enough? I know we all stay where we are because of loyalty to principles. But it is too easy to rest on past tradition. There is a danger in too great beauty of church buildings, of music, of all that makes for delight in worship,

if we rest content with this delight and fail to taste the bitterness of broken communion.

Dear friends, we cannot, we must not rest content. This great church in which we rejoice is not the final Jerusalem of the prophet's promise. We still have to pray and work for that. 'You who put the Lord in remembrance, take not rest, and give him no rest, until he establishes Jerusalem, and makes it a praise in the earth' (Isaiah 62, 6-7). We must pray, and work at our prayer. That is what buildings such as this are for. We must pray to the limits of our understanding, for ourselves and for other Christians, and for the leaders of all Churches. If we can't see the way ahead, we must pray harder.

The voice which sounds in these last chapters of Isaiah strangely anticipates the desolation of Richard Baxter after his ministry had been rejected—the circumstances in which he wrote 'He wants not friends'. Almost certainly Isaiah 56-66 reflect the tragedy of the years following the restoration after the exile of Judah, the restoration so joyfully proclaimed by the voice sounding in Isaiah 40-55. The new establishment rejected advances from fellow-Israelites who had not shared their experience and developments (Ezra 4, 1-3), and became increasingly rigid and exclusive. The last chapters of Isaiah come from circles who had hoped for inclusiveness and reunion. That hope wanes till, in the last chapter, the prophet speaking in God's name questions the value of building a temple at all, in words which were to be taken up by St. Stephen, the first martyr, adding 'the Most High does not dwell in houses made with hands', and thereby giving the offence which won him the crown. In this 62nd chapter of Isaiah the prophet still expresses his vision and hope for Jerusalem, a vision of unity comprehending the whole people: the vision which inspired Richard Baxter in the seventeenth century and the vision which we need today. Jerusalem is not yet built; our land is not yet Beulah, the Bride of the Lord. We cannot yet rest. Of course there are still problems to be overcome. Our leaders and theologians know all about that. But how long will they be? How long must we go on looking at our reasons for disagreeing, when the communion of saints has to be built up on earth as it is in heaven? We must pray, and work at our prayer. That is what this house is for. It is Christ's will; it must succeed. So be it."

THE STONES THAT CRY OUT

Our Lord, appalled at the blindness and indifference of the Pharisees trying to silence the tongues of His disciples, declared that if they held their peace then even the stones would cry out.

There are stones which cry out today in declaration of a Christian commitment and sacrifice that we, for the most part, have never known: Stones we have forgotten and pass by with unawareness or casual indifference.

Such stones are to be found in the Chapel of St. Augustine in the grounds of the old Abbey, presently in use by the King's School. Here around the walls they cry out to our own generation. This is the spot from which dedicated men went forth to give their lives for the witness of the Church in a past age; and how many people ever look, let alone know, what those walls are saying to us today? The names of the men remain there, together with the dates they entered this missionary college for training over one hundred years ago to serve the Church overseas. There is also inscribed, on the stones, the name of the territory in which they served, and the dates of their early deaths.

In the days of Empire these men went out to take the Gospel to places where it had never been heard. It was indeed true that too frequently the Bible followed the flag and the gun, going side by side with them; but for this travesty of our Christian witness the missionaries were not to blame. They went, regardless of the consequences, and never returned to the land of their birth.

Inscriptions speak for themselves:

Sarawak William Hackett, admitted October 21st 1854. Deceased August 19th 1865.

Madras Edward Alfred Boyd, admitted April 15th 1876. Deceased May 18th 1880.

Newfoundland Erasmus Augustine Hillment, admitted Ascension Day 1851, baptised Advent Sunday 1855. Deceased June 18th 1856.

Bombay Ernest Brown, admitted March 31st 1888. Deceased February 24th 1900.

There must be hundreds of names on these walls with the expectation of life of not more than ten years, and more frequently much less.

It is unfortunate that the little Chapel, where these stones cry out, is rarely seen by visitors to the Cathedral, so many of them from the very lands where these young pioneers gladly sacrificed their lives in order to introduce a knowledge of Christianity. Those visitors from overseas who are taken to this blessed shrine, on days when pressures of other commitments permit, are often deeply moved. One knows that the silent stones have cried out to them, and I was happy recently to be witness to a priest who had served the Church in Ceylon in this century reverently kneeling before the monument to a certain Frederick James Bateman.

Fortunately now, in the late 20th century, the message of the stones in St. Augustine's Chapel has been duplicated in spirit and will be perpetuated in the new Chapel in the Cathedral dedicated to the Saints and Martyrs of our own time. This truly inspired project reminds us that we are now living in what is coming to be known as the century of martyrdom, with more martyrs than in any century since the Protestant Reformation.

It is interesting to see how many visitors pause in silent wonderment before this Cathedral Chapel, with its implications, as they read the names of those recorded here, a silent witness to those who have no earthly memorial. Thank God for those flickering candles, a mute witness of faith to faith, reminding us of the light that still shines "in this world's dark night".

How good it is to be reminded in the script which records the sacrifices of our own age that the blood of the martyrs has always been, and will continue to be, the seed of the Church.

We thank Thee for Thy mercies of blood,
For Thy redemption by blood,
For the blood of the martyrs and saints
Shall enrich the earth, shall create Thy Holy places.
From such ground springs that which forever renews the earth,
Though it is forever denied . . .

(*Murder in the Cathedral* by T. S. Eliot)

CHARLES W. HARRINGTON.

BOOK REVIEWS

CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL

by

Jonathan Keates and Angelo Hornak

(Scala/Philip Wilson, £2.95)

This is a book which every lover of Canterbury Cathedral will want to have. It is also a book which would make an ideal birthday or Christmas present. At a time when prices are constantly rising it is wonderfully good value for money.

The outstanding feature of the book is to be found in its illustrations. Angelo Hornak, the photographer, is to be congratulated on a series of magnificent images of the Cathedral, its glass and its monuments. There are general views like the picture of the Nave without any chairs in it, which forms the back cover of the book. There are studies of details, like the picture of the carved and painted angel found in the restoration work in the Chapel of Our Lady by the Martyrdom. There are familiar shots and unfamiliar ones. Mr. Hornak has explored some of the less recognised beauties of the Cathedral, in particular, the seventeenth and eighteenth century monuments.

By comparison the text has fewer surprises. Indeed, it may suggest to us how much we are in need of original research work into some of the less explored areas of the Cathedral's past. However, within the limitations of a book whose primary stress is on the illustrations, the text has many good points. It is readable and clear; it takes us through the centuries of the Cathedral's life in a way which misses nothing which is essential to the story. I particularly appreciated the chapter devoted to the life and martyrdom of St. Thomas of Canterbury.

Altogether, then, a book to be enjoyed and commended to others, so that the treasures of the Cathedral may be more widely appreciated and recognised.

A. M. ALLCHIN.

THE BULWARK SHORE
(Thanet and the Cinque Ports)

by

Caroline Hillier with photographs by John Mosley
(Eyre, Methuen, London. Price £7.95)

Of making many books about places both at home and abroad there seems nowadays to be no end. Occasionally one comes across a book about familiar places which seems to have the edge on most of the others and I can unhesitatingly write this of *The Bulwark Shore*. . . . I have been familiar with every place in this book for most of my life since I lived in Broadstairs and went to school in Cliftonville for four years as a child before moving to Canterbury at the age of eleven. And for the last thirty-seven years my work as an inspector (or Adviser in modern terminology) of church schools all over the Diocese of Canterbury has given me ample opportunity for getting to know the whole Kentish seaboard very well including the Romney Marsh area; while in recent years many excursions to see members of my family in Sussex have given me some enjoyable experiences at that end of the Shore. And how well Caroline Hillier writes about all these places, not hesitating to make inland excursions to towns like Lewes, Battle, and of course Canterbury which (with Sturry and Fordwich thrown in for good measure) has a whole chapter to itself. Her powers of description are considerable, and since she is obviously one of those people with what is often called 'a well stocked mind', which means that she has read widely and intelligently in her subject, this book is a pleasure to read since one will learn a number of unusual things which certainly will not be found in the usual travel books. She adopts the effective and somewhat journalistic device of recording interviews with people on the spot which brings a vividness to her narrative which makes it very much more impressive than bald description. (Indeed those who read the Canterbury chapter may be amused to find a recorded meeting with the writer of this review which I think I must declare lest I be accused of a concealed bias.)

This is very much a husband and wife partnership, for Mr. Mosley, who is responsible for some excellent and unusual photographs (notably Dean Wootton's tomb in the Cathedral), is the husband of Caroline Hillier. Altogether at current prices I consider this book very good value for money and hope that this review may persuade some of our Friends to buy it and then spend a summer or two exploring places which may be unfamiliar to them at present, as well as places which they thought they knew well until they read this very informative book.

DEREK INGRAM HILL.

CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL CHRONICLE
NUMBER 75 APRIL 1981

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A M Allchin is a Canon Residentiary of Canterbury Cathedral. He is well known as a writer, critic and lecturer, and is deeply involved in work for Christian unity. He is Chairman of the Council of the Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius

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FRIENDS OF CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL

BALANCE SHEET AND ACCOUNTS

FOR THE YEAR ENDED

31st MARCH 1981

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REEVES & NEYLAN,

Chartered Accountants,
Canterbury.

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT AND MOVEMENT OF FUNDS AND RESERVES FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31st MARCH, 1981

GENERAL FUND	<i>Note</i>	<i>Year ended 31/3/81</i>	<i>Year ended 31/3/80</i>
INCOME		£	£
Subscriptions Received		14,391	12,265
Donations and Legacies		20,119	25,172
Donations for Cathedral Appeal Fund		5	545
Receipts on behalf of Dean and Chapter:			
Cathedral Guided Tours		1,533	1,145
Organ Recitals		—	1,224
Interest—National Savings Bank		232	167
Bank Deposits		2,366	4,570
Cash on Deposit with:			
United Dominions Trust Ltd.		9,814	—
Central Board of Finance		—	2,869
Investment Income		1,293	389
Rent (<i>less</i> Repairs)		72	71
Transfer re Subscriptions of Deceased Life Members . .		445	75
Surplus from Friends Day and Other Activities		925	441
		<u>51,195</u>	<u>48,933</u>
EXPENSES			
Administrative Salaries		2,885	3,194
Office Overheads	2	4,199	3,686
Chronicle and Newsletter	3	1,693	1,096
Promotion and Publicity		205	135
		<u>8,982</u>	<u>8,111</u>
SURPLUS FOR THE YEAR		42,213	40,822
ACCUMULATED FUND AT START OF YEAR		73,470	53,817
		<u>115,683</u>	<u>94,639</u>
<i>Less:</i> Gifts to Cathedral	4	10,631	17,961
Donations for Cathedral Appeal Fund		5	545
Receipts on behalf of Dean and Chapter		1,533	2,369
		<u>12,169</u>	<u>20,875</u>
Adjustment to equate Investments to Market Value		(1,686)	294
		<u>10,483</u>	<u>21,169</u>
ACCUMULATED FUND AT END OF YEAR		<u>£105,200</u>	<u>£73,470</u>

NOTES FORMING PART OF THE ACCOUNTS (Cont'd.)

	Year ended 31/3/81	Year ended 31/3/80
	£	£
5. OFFICE EQUIPMENT		
Cost less Depreciation at start of year	1,278	582
Additions during year	—	838
	1,278	1,420
Less: Depreciation at 10% p.a.	128	142
Cost less Depreciation at end of year	£1,150	£1,278
6. CASH AT BANK AND IN HAND		
Cash at Lloyds Bank Ltd.—		
Current Accounts	1,934	2,603
Deposit Account	314	1,512
Lloyds Assurance Banking Co. Ltd. (3 months deposit at 17.5% maturing 10/6/80)	—	45,000
Lloyds and Scottish (3 months deposit at 17.125% maturing 17/6/80)	—	20,000
Cash at National Savings Bank—		
Ordinary Account	71	67
Investment Account	1,745	1,517
Cash in Hand	57	63
Total to Balance Sheet	£4,121	£70,762
7. LORD BENNET FUND		
Representing £683.33 Nominal 3.5% War Loan		
Increase/(Decrease) in Market Value of Invest- ment	14	(37)
Accumulated Fund at start of year	204	241
at end of year	£218	£204
8. LIFE MEMBERS' RESERVE		
Accumulated Reserve at start of year	5,495	5,570
Less: Transfer to General Fund re Deceased Members	(19) 445	(3) 75
Accumulated Reserve at end of year	£5,050	£5,495

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